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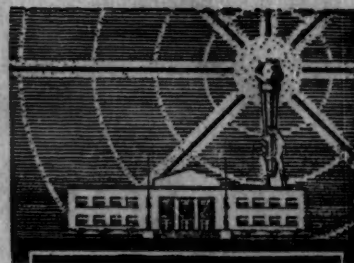
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VOLUME XLIX, NUMBER 1

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIX, NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1958

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As the Editor Sees It

Minority relationships are America's greatest social problem and will probably continue to be so for a good many years. Hence all aspects of these relationships should concern us. When there are outbreaks of violence, such as there were in the Little Rock affair, there is general sympathy for the victims and denunciation of the aggressors; we say that the majority is oppressing the minority. The fact of course is a little different. The segregationist element in the South is actually a minority—a minority of the whole country. It is because of this that they are unable to promote their views by constitutional means and therefore, in some cases, resort to violence, intimidation or subterfuge. This leads us to think further about one of the troublesome features of minority problems.

There is a growing tendency on the part of many minorities to insist on rights, privileges and exceptions, simply because they *are* minorities. We are, in fact, in a dictatorship of the minorities. We have all heard the small boy who comes crying to his mother that his older brother is "picking on him." "He hit me just because I'm smaller than him!" The charge *may* be true, but most parents will suspect that the younger child was relying on his small stature to make demands on his older brother beyond reasonable patience, with impunity. It seems to us that there are too many common examples of racial and religious minorities who, like the white segregationist minority, feel that laws they don't like should be waived for them.

A few illustrations may be useful. We know of a merchant whose jewelry shop was robbed. The police shortly caught two men with some of the goods in their possession. One had a record of some twenty previous arrests. His first cry was that he was being persecuted because he was a Negro. The police refused to interrogate the men until

a Negro officer was present to act as a witness. We have heard of a teacher who found at the close of the year that all his failing pupils happened to be of a minority group. Rather than have this happen, he arranged, with the connivance of his principal, to give failing grades to several other pupils with their consent; the latter failures were removed by "special examination" in the fall. We know of the religious leader of a small minority who, finding that a religious holiday of his faith coincided with one day of the local high school's final examinations, insisted that *all* examinations be dropped for that day, rather than have his half-dozen pupils take their tests the next day. To save trouble, the principal agreed, and the great majority of pupils therefore spent a wasted day. Every educator knows of cases where materials and courses of study have been changed simply to quiet some tiny but aggressive minority. A recent ruling of the Attorney-General of New Jersey forbids the saying of grace before lunch in schools, even silently, because of the opposition of an atheist.

The Girard College situation in Philadelphia is another case in point. Here a century-old will establishing a private school for "white, male orphans" has been challenged on a technicality as violating the 14th Amendment. No less a person than the Mayor has denounced the Court for holding that the technicality, rather than the clear intent of the will, should be changed.

We think it is well to remember that minorities, as well as a majority, can be aggressive and provocative, and that minorityship, *per se*, should not convey special rights and privileges. Like the parents of the little boy who is being picked on, we sometimes need to inquire whether the sympathy and aid he asks for are really due him, and whether they are also available to the older brother.

January, 1958

THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Communism

GABRIEL GERSH

New York, New York

In order to criticize the Communist idea we must first understand it—both in its strength and in its weakness.

Many people, a hundred years ago, as today, thought of history as static. They assumed that human nature was unchanging and that institutions which suited one age inevitably suited another. In opposition to that view Hegel preached his doctrine of the Time-Spirit. According to Hegel, history consisted of a series of phases. Each phase had its own especial time-spirit. In each phase, society was in conflict between certain opposing forces, and out of that conflict emerged not a victory for the one protagonist or for the other, but a victory of some third force—the synthesis between the thesis and the antithesis—and this third force, this *tertius gaudens*, was the constitutive force of the new phase of history. Thus—to take but one example where we might take many—out of the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism in the sixteenth century emerged not a victory either for Catholicism or for Protestantism, but rather the victory for the third force—the *politiques*—the tolerating state.

Marx took from Hegel the theory of the dialectic and combined it with another theory which he took from Feuerbach—the theory of economic determinism. “Man is what he eats,” Feuerbach had taught. History therefore, according to Marx, had indeed consisted of this series of phases and of conflicts, but the conflicts had always been between economic classes. The one reality of history was the class struggle. Society had throughout all its history been divided into two classes—a small class of exploiters and a large class of exploited. From time to time, as new

methods of production demanded a new organization of society the most vigorous of the exploited would rise up, and, using a rhetoric of general freedom, would proceed to depose those who had hitherto been the governing class and to establish in their place not a classless society, but themselves as a new governing class. Thus, for instance, the Barons of Magna Charta had established themselves against King John. Thus, immediately before Marx's day, the leaders of the French Revolution had risen up and, with general denunciation of privilege, had taken away the privileges of the *noblesse* and of the *ancien regime*. But the reign of no privilege meant in practice, said Marx, simply a reign in which no power could interfere with the freedom of the capitalist to do what he wished. In the speeches of such protagonists of capitalism as Cobden there was a great deal about general freedom. But in fact all that had happened to the ordinary man was that he had exchanged masters. He had lost his feudal master and got a capitalist master instead.

All things were, according to Marx, in flux, and the capitalist regime was in its turn destined to perish. It must perish because it was cursed with an inherent contradiction. Under capitalism all the effective wealth of society belonged to a few capitalists. The rest of society—the proletariat—could only live by working for the capitalists. In return for their labor they received a “subsistence wage.” Marx had no difficulty in quoting from capitalist economists of his day, such as Ricardo, to show that the “laws of political economy” forbade the capitalists to pay more than a subsistence wage even if they wanted to. Therefore it obviously followed

that, as productivity increased, the gap between rich and poor would widen, for the poor would remain at their subsistence wage and the whole of "the surplus value" would pass into the pockets of the capitalists. A society so ordered must necessarily break down for two reasons. It must break down for a moral reason because there was in man a fundamental prejudice in favor of equality and therefore revolt against the blind injustice of this growing inequality was inevitable. It must break down also for a mechanical reason since the sorts of goods which this new industrialism produced were goods of which everybody wanted a few and nobody wanted very many. No man, however rich, wants to eat five dinners or to own more than a limited number of automobiles. It was therefore inevitable that, if income in society was distributed with too radical an inequality, it would not be possible to find purchasers for its products. It was the paradox of the capitalist society that it produced goods which demanded an equality of incomes and distributed incomes with a gross and growing inequality. Therefore, argued Marx, its collapse was certain, and, when it collapsed, it would be replaced by Communism, or the classless society. It would not be possible, it is true, to establish the classless society immediately. There would have to be an immediate phase of "the dictatorship of the proletariat"—which is what we are now going through in Russia, but, that phase accomplished, then "the State would wither away," "pre-history would end and history would begin," Communism would be ushered in and all the other apocalyptic Marxian prophecies would be fulfilled.

Now how much of this is true and how much is false?

To begin with, of course, Marx was perfectly right to insist that capitalism—at any rate in the sense in which our nineteenth century ancestors used the word—in the sense of *laissez-faire*—was a passing phase. No critics are less useful than those who imagine that the nineteenth century organization of society was in some way a normal

one, and that it only requires a little courage and perhaps a few election victories for us to return to it. Capitalism in Ricardo's sense has already largely passed away and it is certainly destined completely to pass away.

But that does not mean to say that it has passed away for the reasons that Marx prophesied. According to Marx, capitalism would necessarily collapse because of the insufficiency of purchasing power. That dilemma was for a time evaded in the nineteenth century by the development of imperialism. Although there was not sufficient purchasing power in the pockets of British workers to buy the products of British industry, capitalism in the last half of the century made large loans for the development of the new countries overseas. These loans were used for the purchase of capital goods in Britain and British industry was kept busy in the production of these capital goods.

Yet, as Lenin truly foresaw, this imperialism was bound in its turn to produce its own conflicts so soon as industrialism had established itself in other countries as well as Britain. These other countries also wanted their overseas markets for their surplus goods. A scramble of rival imperialisms was inevitable. And this scramble, if not the sole cause of the wars of 1914 and 1939, as Lenin and his disciples imagined in their economic determinism, was at the least a very large cause.

On that point the Marxists have been shown to possess a good deal of reason. But on another point Marx has been found a most false prophet. His theory was based on "the increasing misery" of the poor, on his belief in an ever-growing gap between the rich and poor. Now it is arguable that in the first half of the nineteenth century the workers got practically no share in the increased wealth which industrialism had produced. But that was by no means true of the second half of the nineteenth century nor of this twentieth century. On the contrary, in spite of demonstrations alike from orthodox and from Marxist economists that it was not possible to interfere with the "iron laws of political

economy" without upsetting the whole structure of capitalist economy, means were found within the system of passing on to the workers an increased share of the product of their labor. The standard of living of the workers within capitalism increased enormously.

At the same time technological developments had brought into being vastly larger units of production than those of Marx's day. As a result, by the 1930's you had, as Mr. Colin Clark's statistical studies have shown, a wholly new situation in an industrial nation like Great Britain. British platform rhetoric still spoke of capitalists as a small class of rich men. But the facts were that, owing to heavy taxation, the rich had become in general dis-savers and were taking out of industry every year more than they put into it. On the other hand, owing to the rise in wages, the workers now had savings on a vaster scale than they had ever had before and the finance of industry was coming to an increasing extent out of the pockets of men of moderate means, investing usually indirectly through various finance corporations.

This was in itself a very healthy thing, but it had an important consequence. It meant that industry instead of being owned, as in Marx's day, by a few people, now had many millions of owners — most of them indirect and ineffective owners — scattered throughout Britain. Obviously in this new world the owner could no longer be the manager in the sense in which he was in Marx's day. You got the great phenomenon of the modern world which is the growth of a new governing class, neither capitalist nor proletariat, the managerial class. In true Hegelian fashion, just as the *politiques* emerged as the victors of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants, just as the capitalists emerged as the victors of the conflict between the feudal lords and the people, so the managers have emerged as the victors of the conflict between the Socialists and the Capitalists.

Socialism is indeed, as Mr. Peter Drucker had said, in reality "the Siamese twin" of capitalism. As a critic of capitalism it has a certain negative validity. It has a task to

perform in pointing out why capitalism is a passing phase, destined to pass away, but it gives no serious reason at all why socialism should take its place. Therefore, as soon as capitalism does pass away, as soon as a quite new shape of things begins to form itself, socialism at once becomes wholly irrelevant and out of date.

The logical conclusion of Marx's theory of history, according to which in the past the leaders of the exploited have overthrown the exploiters only in order to establish themselves as exploiters in their place, is that, if that has been the history of the past, it is only reasonable to expect that the history of the future will be like it. It is only reasonable to expect that, just as feudal lords and capitalists appeared as liberators only in order to establish themselves as masters, so will the commissars in exactly the same way appear as liberators only in order to establish themselves as masters.

Marx, of course, admitted as much. He did not pretend that the classless society of communism would establish itself at the first moment of the overthrow of capitalism. There would be an intermediate period which was called quaintly that of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," but which should rather have been called that of "the dictatorship of the communists over the proletariat." It is, as I say, that period which the Russians are today enjoying and it is now a deviationist heresy in Russia to suggest that it will ever come to an end. Marx argued that there was no danger that these Communists, like other rulers before them, would abuse their power. Not being an economic class, he argued, they would be under no temptation to do so. But the argument was obviously naive. On the contrary, argued Bakunin, Marx's great revolutionary opponent, power has in itself its corrupting effect. The corruption of the dictators would be inevitable. The Marxist revolution, said Proudhon, could never lead to the classless society of the socialist dream. Marx was "the tapeworm" of socialism. All subsequent experience and all subsequent psychological investigation have combined to

prove Bakunin and Proudhon right and to prove Marx wrong.

Yet the Marxists still have the advantage of fanatical faith — a fanatical faith devoted to the support of a policy which is in detail completely opportunist. But it is important to understand the final purpose behind the opportunist detail. Every Marxist believes that all non-communist societies are inevitably doomed to destruction through their inherent contradictions. Lenin never intended to establish Communism in Russia alone. He imagined that in the post-1918 confusion it would be possible to establish it also in Western Europe. In that hope he failed, but the Marxist faith was not dimmed. The contradictions of capitalism, they argued, must inevitably lead Western Europe to a second conflict in which Communism would get a second chance. The Communist, we must understand, does not think of himself as wantonly interfering in other people's affairs. He thinks rather of such societies as ours as inevitably doomed, destined in any event to collapse. The only alternative before the Communist is whether to allow it to collapse into mere chaos or whether to guide it forward to its next logical state.

The talk of wishful-thinkers about Russian co-operation with other nations or about her policy being inspired by an anxiety for security is an insult to Marxism, amply refuted by the writings of Lenin and Stalin. The whole Marxist thesis is as clearly set out in Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* as was Nazi policy in *Mein Kampf*. We are now in a period of bloodshed and turmoil which may extend for thirty or forty or fifty years before final world victory of Communism. "A series of terrible clashes between the bourgeois and the Soviet Union is inevitable," Lenin has told the faithful. The victory of Communism "is going to be a bloody, violent, undemocratic and lawless job," writes Stalin in *Problems of Leninism*.

It had been the ambition of the Communists to establish themselves in all Europe immediately on Hitler's defeat. In that they have not been wholly successful, but they

have succeeded in annexing the greater part of Europe, in advancing their frontiers to the line of Stettin-Trieste. It is their confident hope that a Europe divided, like Solomon's baby, cannot flourish in either of its divided parts, that under such a division the misery of the free workers of western Europe will inevitably turn to Communism, while the slave workers of eastern Europe will have no chance of turning away from Communism, that western Europe can only survive at all on American aid and that America will sooner or later get tired of giving that aid, that in any event American society has its own inherent contradictions which are certain to bring America herself, if not to collapse, at least to depression.

Now it is of course important to understand that all these prophecies are perfectly sensible — and indeed even in the long run perfectly inevitable — and that, if we just allow things to drift, as is so fatally easy in our democracies, war and the eventual victory of world Communism are certain. It is idle to point to America's industrial resources to prove that she is stronger than Russia in the long run. Will there be a long run? Weapons are being developed now of which it is academic to ask whether there be an answer because no one will be left alive to give it. The first blow will be the last blow, and the law of the brave, new world will be the survival of the unfree-est. The nation that has to hesitate an instant to consult public opinion or to find a cause of war will be at a fatal disadvantage beside the nation that strikes instantly, ruthlessly and without a cause.

The situation can still be saved but it can only be saved by action. We are now at a parallel moment to the moment of Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland. If somehow an immediate outbreak can be avoided and if then within the next year or so we and our allies can send the Russians an ultimatum demanding that they halt any further acts of aggression and allow international inspection of all their atomic and other similar plants, they would probably accept and the

situation could be saved. Let us hope that that will be done.

Pacifist rhetoric against people who have a fanatical and indeed religious belief in violence is singularly futile. Only force can meet force. It is necessary to reply to a weapon with a weapon. But force can only repel. It cannot conquer an idea. And, when we reply to a weapon with a weapon, we must also reply to an idea with an idea. Goebbels used to jeer during the war that the Allies were very certain what they were fighting against—that they were fighting against Nazism, but they were much less clear what they were fighting for. The years since the war have made it all too clear what a terrifying degree of truth there was in Goebbels's gibe. And, if it was not sufficient to be anti-Nazi then, it is equally not sufficient to be anti-Communist today.

What is the idea with which we can reply to the Communist idea?

There are two answers. First, Communism is not a political or an economic creed. It is a religious and a spiritual creed, and therefore the fundamental answer to it must come on the spiritual plane. It is an encouraging sign that western Europe has grasped this point. In western Europe the lines of cleavage no longer run along economic lines. The political parties have little difficulty in agreeing about what industries should or should not be nationalized. The old fashioned Parliamentary Socialists, who were only interested in such problems, have shown themselves the dying creatures of a dying world—a negligible and diminishing force. Instead the party divisions have run between the new spiritual parties—M.R.P. or Christian Democrats, as the case may be—and the Communists, and the difference between these parties has been not economic but spiritual. The fundamental claim of the Christian Democrats has been not an economic but a spiritual claim—a claim that the values of liberty, justice and truth are absolute values and the economic and political problems of society must be solved within a framework which recognizes them as abso-

lute. It is encouraging that western Europe should have returned to these spiritual doctrines. It is profoundly discouraging that American and British opinion should not have recognized that they have so returned even after they have done so.

What is the second answer? What is the cause of the modern world's disease? Clearly it is not, as is so often said, poverty. On the contrary, every class of the population in normal times is in possession of goods of which its ancestors never dreamed, and yet its ancestors in their poverty never had any of the disillusionment with life from which the modern generation so freely suffers. The disease of the modern world is that so many people are "disintegrated"—do not feel that they belong to the society in which they live. Filled with a passion for freedom and responsibility, which the Judaic-Christian heritage creates, they find themselves condemned to live out their working lives as cogs in a machine or the victims of vast, unknown, cosmic forces which suddenly strike them with calamities of war and unemployment of which they can understand nothing.

Communism and Socialism are not remedies of this disease. But neither is capitalism nor the continuance of things as they are. Big units and the mastery of those units by the managerial class are the facts of the modern world. It is within the factory that the modern worker lives his real life, and the problem of that life is somehow to give him freedom and responsibility in that real life and to check the power of the new governing class, when it comes to abuse power, as power has always been abused by the wielders of it throughout history. A merely political democracy is no remedy for the diseases of an industrial society. It is useless to allow the worker to have a say in determining policy towards Formosa or Korea, about which he knows very little, and to deny him any say in the running of the factory in which he spends the greater part of his working life.

That there are inconveniences in the substitution of industrial democracy for indus-

trial autocracy need not be denied. There are always inconveniences in the substitution of democracy for autocracy. Nor is this the place to sketch out the detailed plans of co-partnership and industrial councils involved in the establishment of industrial democracy. The essential point is that industry is now what Peter Drucker calls the "socially constitutive" element in the life of European man, and European man demands freedom and responsibility in the socially constitutive part of his life. Without it he is frustrated,

discontented and feels himself but half a man. Communism does not in the least satisfy this demand for responsibility. On the contrary, under Communism in practice the worker is a hundred times more a slave than he is under capitalism. But so long as Communism is allowed to advertise itself as the only alternative to the frustration of things as they are, its victory is inevitable. It can only be defeated when people are offered the real alternative to it of industrial democracy.

The Great Depression in Retrospect

WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

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I.

It is now over a quarter of a century since the fall of 1929, when the Great Depression arrived like an insidious, all-consuming, mysterious disease which for years seemed to despairing Americans to have no solution and no end. Those who went through the experience and who now read historical accounts and analyses of the Depression era may recall having seen similar stories about the terrible incubus of the epidemics of the past, like those of the cholera and the bubonic plague. One remembers the feeling of helplessness, of desperation, of frustration, on the part of people who suddenly were faced with the prospect of endless unemployment, inability to educate their children, loss of their homes—to say nothing of giving up the high standard of living to which the new aristocracy of postwar America had come to be accustomed.

Perhaps it was that fact which made the thrust of the Depression so unexpected and so insufferable; those families who had been living too "high on the hog," found the precipitate decline from the heights to economic bottom to be a traumatic experience. In

Europe, especially in the peasant countries where the inhabitants never knew much more than a hand-to-mouth existence, the fall could be shorter, briefer, and easier to take. In the United States, on the other hand, the shame and utter despair engendered when a member of the war-babies prosperity had to give up his two cars, his fine home, and his splurging way of life, were more than many could withstand. Hence the numerous suicides.

Of course there were, from the beginning, those who foresaw dire results and predicted the end of American democracy. Some of the soothsayers said that the era of private capitalism was over and that communism was on the way in; others, like Father Coughlin and Huey Long, advocated a kind of fascism. Still others, particularly the troglodyte wing of the Republican party, prophesied that the New Deal was bringing complete and absolute socialistic dictatorship. Using wisdom after the event, the observer as of the middle 1950's notes how widely the prophets of doom missed the mark, whether they were of the extreme left or extreme right. The Liberty Leaguers were equally as wrong as were the Communists.

II.

When the break occurred in 1929, it was over thirty-five years since the depression of 1893, when the country had last waded through a really deep economic trough. Unlike the "great bust" of 1929 which still remains vividly as a horrible memory in the minds of millions of our fellow citizens who are middle-aged or over, and which is still being written about and investigated, the depression of the 1890's was hardly mentioned in the prosperous 1920's or in the poorhouse 1930's. One of the most obvious aspects of the crisis of the 1930's is, therefore, that it has remained longer in the minds of people than was the case with previous panics and depressions.

As one looks back over the past twenty-five years, he can easily understand why that should be true. The major reason is that my generation, which was just coming into its own about 1930, still bears the scars of the economic deflation after 1929. Many of my friends became victims of the "time of troubles" and never realized their ambitions. Indeed almost everyone, twenty years or older in 1929, today can see within his own life the marks of that struggle to exist. Some ten or eleven annual batches of young people — the yearly increment to the labor force from 1930 to 1941 — could not feel they belonged; so far as being needed in the economic system was concerned, they might as well have been dumped into the ocean. Even if they got jobs — as some did towards the end of the decade — there was little chance of advancement; and even if they moved ahead, salaries were small. Hence the catastrophic decline in marriages and births. By what right could a couple marry and start a family if the young man could not even keep himself? The loss to society of billions upon billions of man-hours during the 1930's — when those unemployed and producing nothing might have been providing goods and services to improve the country at large — is completely beyond any accurate estimate, but it is one of the social tragedies of our time.

We paid a heavy price for the hopelessness and despair that came to the youth of the 1930's. To the eternal credit of the New Deal, many young men were saved for democracy by the NYA, CCC, and various other similar organizations which, according to the Neanderthal element of the Republican party, simply encouraged boondoggling; the same group denounced public aid as giving largess to lazy people who did not want to work but who preferred to live off the government. Yet many young men who were saved for democracy by these methods in the 1930's were alive to help preserve, and perhaps to die for, democracy in the 1940's. I taught air-crew cadets during World War II and talked with a number of such individuals.

The democratic process was delayed too long and therefore could not save all youth. Too many were riding freight cars in search of jobs and food, getting into crime, and serving in prison. More dangerous than those, however, were the educated ones who, listening to the siren voices of Communism, flirted with that so-called solution. Only now are we learning how the blandishments of Moscow trainees swayed many of the educated youth of the land with arguments which ran something like this: "Democracy has no need of you. You can't even get jobs so as to marry. You have nothing to lose. You might as well join us. We can give you hope of better times." These arguments lassoed more than one young person who since has hoped to cover up his temporary allegiance to Communism. Many blasted lives have resulted when the fact was subsequently brought out. Only later did we learn how these barren promises sold intelligent men on Communism as a way out. One can now blame them for their shortsightedness and lack of faith. But how many modern critics, seeing nothing in the future except hopelessness and frustration, as they did, would have been immune? St. Francis is supposed to have said: "But for the grace of God, there go I."

Anyway, those are some of the reasons why so many individuals still remember the

dread 1930's with loathing. The number includes all who, upon graduating from high school or college during that decade, could find no jobs. (I recall one of our local high school classes, which upon graduating, threw diplomas into the air, and yelled, "PWA, here we come.") It includes the large group of young people, who like myself, were just getting well started in their careers, only to be dismissed from their posts through no fault of their own. Some of these, like myself, were lucky enough to get new places because older jobholders died; most of them went on relief. It includes the thousands of big and little business men who lost everything as their enterprises crashed and frequently went on the dole or got into some other kind of work, often through political pull. These went through agonies they will never forget. It includes the thousands of elderly people who lost their nest eggs in the bank failures, and then had to live with their children or else go to the almshouse. It includes the fifteen million workers who could find jobs neither for love nor money, who walked the streets asking for employment until shoe leather wore out, and then who had to demean themselves to accept charity or government relief. Complacent Republicans besmeared them with every vile epithet, such as loafers, malingerers, and spongers who preferred to live in idleness rather than to work.

Anyone who lived through that period should know now why the Republican party cannot get the allegiance of the masses, which a party must have to win elections. If he does not recall, he is advised to ask some laborers who were out of work in the 1930's. Thus it is possible for Eisenhower to receive the remarkable personal accolade of November 6, 1956, and yet be too weak to carry even one house of Congress for his party. It is easy for anybody who remembers the 1930's to explain why many laborers hate the Republican party so vehemently that, even if they come to dislike the Democratic party too, they will not vote Republican. In all candor, workmen cannot be blamed for

having an intense distrust of a party which covered them with infamy. Now when that party needs their votes to win elections, laborers will not forget. The attitude may be unfair, but who is to say it is not understandable?

At this point, then, the first important result of the Great Depression can be delineated, namely, the permanent minority status of the Republican party at least until the Depression generation dies off. Out of this fact comes a second consequence, the rise to power of labor and the unions.

III.

Allied to the end of the long reign of the Republican party, which lasted most of the time from 1861 to 1933, was the sudden elevation to authority of labor and the labor unions. There can be no doubt that the present dominance of unions in the country, as well as the favorable posture of the worker, is owing primarily to the Great Depression. It happened in the following way.

Despite the growth of craft unions in the AFL, the position of one laborer *vis-à-vis* a powerful corporation was, in most cases before 1929, completely hopeless. Individual instead of collective bargaining was the custom. If a workman asked the boss for more pay, the boss usually answered substantially as follows: "If you don't like the wages, I can get plenty of Hunkies or Niggers who will be glad to work for less than you get now." In other words, the laborer had to accept what the employer offered him, or starve. The second control which the industrialists had over labor was in the matter of voting. Most owners were Republicans; and after 1861 the Republican party was simply the handmaiden of big business. Therefore it was easy, until the coming of the secret ballot, for the employer to inform his men that those who voted Democratic would be fired and that he would be at the polling place to see whether anybody disobeyed him. Even after the arrival of the secret ballot, industrialists made it plain that, if the Democrats won, the factory would be closed down and there would be no jobs for

anybody. Therefore a wise worker would vote for the Republicans who had the money anyway. After the 1890's the usual clincher line was: "Don't forget the soup kitchens when the Democrats were in power in the panic of 1893; and don't forget the full dinner pail of the Republicans." I can recall keenly how my mother used to warn my father on election day: "Now Will, you know you have these mouths to feed, and you had better vote Republican as Mr. Peters wants the men to do. You need your job." My father usually voted as he was told, proving, I suppose, that women voted actually long before they voted legally.

This was a slick system; it worked famously in the country at large much of the time, and in the state of Pennsylvania almost all the time. The system was characterized by the fact that he who could give or take away a job had the power, both political and economic, over the mass vote.

Then came 1929. Soon thereafter fifteen million men were out of work. The slick system fell apart to be succeeded by another slick system which lasted for a few years, namely, one in which the Democratic politicians were able to manage the labor vote through the use of PWA funds, leaf-raking jobs, and doles. At all events, the Republican-industrial control ended shortly after 1929. Men who had been forced to accept domination in order to hold their jobs and to feed their families, now had no jobs and their families were threatened with want. The power of the industrialist evaporated, as it were, over night. In effect the laborer said: "You held me under restraint because you had a job for me. There is now no job for me. The deal is off. I am free to vote for whom I please and act as I please."

So, in 1932 millions of laborers who had formerly voted Republican turned Democratic because they had nothing to lose. Since then, no matter who may at any one time have controlled the labor vote — whether the Democratic party, the unions, the PAC, or nobody at all — it was certainly no longer the Republican leaders of big business. Their

day was over. The last anachronistic try at it was by that old Bourbon who never learned anything and never forgot anything, Henry Ford. Just before election day, 1936, he ordered that there be inserted into each worker's pay envelope a statement that the factory would probably have to close down if Roosevelt defeated Landon.

IV.

The third result of the Depression emerges from the decline of Republican and industrial domination of the mass vote. Laborers who were now free to cast their ballots as they pleased, because there were no jobs to fire them from, proceeded to send their own kind of people to Congress and to many of the state legislatures. The upshot was a social and economic revolution of such vast import that we may not know fully how to grasp its meaning for a long time to come. This was the revolution engineered by pro-labor Congressmen in the thirties who passed legislation to favor workers, just as before that, pro-industrial Congressmen passed legislation to favor business men. The workman was helped both as an individual and as a union man by such a spate of New Deal laws as to defy analysis here. Symptomatic of the many were the Wagner Act, which legalized collective bargaining and invited laborers to organize; the Social Security Act, which is known as the crown jewel of the New Deal; and the Fair Labor Standards Act, which finally did something about ending the child labor problem. In summary, the laborer instead of the business man was now top dog.

The result was that unbelieving bosses — who protested to high heaven about it — found themselves taking orders from union organizers rather than the other way around, giving orders to laborers. This was no mean *bouleversement*. It explains why the United States is now a laboring man's country, why union wages are higher than college professors' salaries, and why, if mass labor wishes, it can elect a president and run the nation. As I recall the fear and trembling of my father when he talked to the boss, be-

cause the boss could cause his family to go without bread, I understand the price the owning class has paid for its part in allowing the country to get into the Depression in the first place.

V.

Related to the above point is a fourth deep-lying consequence of the Great Depression, namely, increased governmental power. This was coming anyway, but the hard times made its coming speedier because American democracy had to be saved and saved forthwith.

Every crisis in American history has increased the power of government, both state and federal, but particularly federal; and within the federal sphere, every crisis has of necessity widened the authority of the president. Lincoln rode roughshod over freedom of speech and state rights, becoming our first temporary national dictator; but because his acts were essential, we do not criticize him. The same happened in World War I when Wilson became almost as powerful a leader as had Lincoln; the difference was that Lincoln was often forced to take action on his own before Congress met, whereas Congress endowed Wilson with one-man authority ahead of time. Of course the same augmentation of power occurred during World War II under F. D. Roosevelt. In view of these examples, one would be naive if he did not expect that the hideous 1930's, which presented to American democracy the worst danger it had ever met or perhaps ever will meet, would lead to tremendous personal power on the chief executive's part in order to get business on its feet and people back to work.

Such crises not only bring about added personal power for the president, but they also create more socialism; that is, government ownership and operation of former private industries. In many cases these socialistic experiments are shuffled off after the threat is over; in other instances, because they seem to perform a service, they are retained to become part of our peculiar brand of mixed economy. A case in point is within

the memory of all who can recall World War I. The socialization of the railroads became a vital necessity to win the war because competitive methods producing delay and waste, which we accept as part of the price paid for private initiative in peace time, could not be endured when the country might be defeated, or suffer partition, or even lose its freedom. The United States could not win unless aid reached its associates; and the goods could not be delivered in Europe unless they could be deposited at coastal ports. They were not being so deposited because private handling of freight had broken down. So, nationalization, although producing a financial deficit, made victory possible. Innumerable instances of socialism during World War II could be given.

By 1932, with private initiative shrivelled, with the wheels of industry stopped, and with the unemployed lists growing fearfully, even the Hoover administration reluctantly and tardily admitted that the only way out was government action. For, by that time, millions of people were asking: "After all, why not help from our government? We are in trouble. We have neither a benevolent despot nor a beneficent church to appeal to. It is *our* government, isn't it? Why fear it, if we elect it?" Additionally, 1932 was an election year and the Republicans were forced to take cognizance of the depression as a potent political issue for their opponents. Late in Hoover's term, therefore, the blue print of the New Deal was laid down when Congress passed and the President signed laws which, upon expansion by the Democrats after 1933, were the foundation stones of the Roosevelt program.

Four of the basic New Deal approaches to the problem of solving the depression began under Hoover, only they began too little and too late: (a) The Reconstruction Finance Corporation of 1932 was to bail out banks, railroads, and other business institutions; its power was later expanded to allow it to bail out additional sectors of the economy; (b) The Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Act of 1932 authorized three hundred

million dollars for general relief and work relief in the states; thus was the Works Progress Administration anticipated by Hoover; (c) The Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1932 increased the powers of banks to lend credit to industry, thus opening the way to the numerous lending operations under the New Deal; (d) The Federal Home Loan Act of 1932 attempted to save the homes of those whose mortgage payments were past due, presaging many similar actions under Roosevelt.

All of these laws indicate three things which ultimately characterized the New Deal: (a) augmenting the interference of government in private affairs, even when ownership remained private — as in the case of aid to homeowners; (b) increasing the trend towards socialism, as in the case of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, where the Government took on the formerly private business of making loans; and (c) giving more powers and duties to the President.

It is needless to carry the theme further into the New Deal era; the theme is the same. Each of the above remedies was extended until a sizable part of the economy was undergirded by public rather than by private enterprise. Millions of Americans and a large portion of industry were of necessity living off government through one sort of grant or another. Of course an inevitable consequence was increase in the federal debt.

VI.

Mention of government debt leads to the final result of the Great Depression in so far as there is room to discuss its results within the limits of the present undertaking. It is this: Our economy, public and private, is now based on spending and debt rather than on thrift and cash. Admittedly, World War II had a large role in creating this state of affairs; and yet it was originated — too timidly — during the hard times of the 1930's.

In my youth, I and everybody else were taught that to get ahead you must save: A penny saved is a penny earned. We were told

that thrift was the *summum bonum* of the economic order. He who spent all he earned would come to no good because everyone should save, whether for investment, for business, for education, for marriage, or for old age. In my first college course in economics, the professor informed us boys that each one ought to begin saving as soon as he started working, so as to be able to buy a home for his bride.

Contrast that kind of penny-pinching system with today's. If everybody was as thrifty as my generation was urged to be, the country would go into a downward business spiral at once. Nowadays a good American — economically speaking — is one who spends everything he earns, even before he earns it. Business is founded on fast turnover, spending, and going into debt. The government runs on debt; industry runs on debt; the individual runs into debt through installment buying to the point that — God save the mark! — he now even pays for his vacation on time. The Biblical admonishment to "Owe no man any thing," and Shakespeare's Polonian caveat "Neither a borrower, nor a lender be," would get short shrift on Madison Avenue, Wall Street, or Pennsylvania Avenue.

The person who "owes no man any thing" is of little help in the economic sense because he is doing nothing to keep buying high so as to keep production high, so as to keep wages high, so as to keep buying high, so as to keep production high, so as to keep wages high, and so on *ad infinitum*. Recently Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks said that at least half of what the American people buy they do not need, but that our prosperity can be maintained only by persuading customers to continue purchasing a lot of stuff they really do not have to have. If they stop buying, the tailspin begins. In the same vein Allan Seager asks, "... are we to spend our lives using more or less valued articles in order to keep workingmen off the dole?" and answers himself sadly, "Yes, I guess we are." Several years ago Stuart Chase stated: "Today economists, holding a finger to finan-

cial winds, are warning that if workers reduce their spending as much as 5%, and save that amount, they can make a feared recession become a real depression." Chase then continued: "Thus the once neglected if not despised consumer holds the economy in the hollow of his hand. Will he save that small fraction of the take-home pay or will he spend it? The Republic trembles as it watches him — or better her, for women do the bulk of the nation's buying." Dr. Ralph Robey, economic adviser to the NAM, arguing that there is no need to worry about overproduction if everyone will continue to buy, explains why: "Anything I have one of, I'd like a second one of — at the right price — including my wife."

Indeed the scramble to win the consumer's dollar and thereby to prevent him from saving it, takes on the aspect of a kind of conspiracy. Thus, in 1950 B. Earl Puckett, president of the Allied Stores Corporation, accused creators of women's styles of negligence. Said he: "We . . . have the responsibility to accelerate obsolescence. It is our job to make women unhappy with what they have in the way of apparel. . . . We must make these women so unhappy that their husbands can find no happiness or peace in their excessive savings. . . . Every year must have a new look." In 1952 President W. W. Wachtel of Calvert Distilleries said at the World Trade Fair: "What alarms me is the great increase in personal savings. . . . Our salesmen had better start hacking away at that enormous American savings account." On January 2, 1955, in the process of introducing his new line of cars, L. L. Colbert, president of Chrysler Motors, predicted a good year for the sale of his automobiles. He based his optimism in part on the Federal Reserve's estimate that three-fourths of the American people had United States bonds, cash put aside, or money in the savings banks; these savings, he asserted, must be enticed into circulation to buy Chrysler cars. He inferred that if prosperity for the automotive industry was to be sustained, there must be no large-scale saving by the

people. This was tantamount to stating that customers should go into debt to buy cars, for few of them could pay in full even if they dipped into savings. The result of such talk was evident by June 3, 1955 when Sam Dawson of the Associated Press, under a headline reading, "Mounting Debt Indication of Prosperity, No Worry," declared that installment credit had gone up to 23½ billions of dollars. The measure of the changed atmosphere since I was a boy is in the headline. In my youth, it would have read: "Mounting Debt Indication of Bankruptcy, We Had Better Begin to Worry."

The way the personal loan companies pitch their sales appeal over our local radio station makes borrowing seem like the performance of a beautiful deed. In dulcet tones, they tell you that it is so easy; you only sign your name; nobody else will know about it; no embarrassing questions will be asked. The outcome is that the listener thinks going into debt must be the most pleasant thing in the world; only old cranks, who are a drag upon society anyway, believe in paying as they go. After I hear one of these eulogies to the good life through the process of going into debt, I almost hate myself for not hurrying right down to a personal finance office and getting a loan. I feel as though I am an ingrate who enjoys all the lovely things in America; but here I am, a crusty old conservative, who will not help America to remain prosperous by my going into debt. These hucksters make borrowing sound so desirable that you wonder whether you are antisocial or whether there is something the matter with you, if you happen to be in the black and do not need a loan.

Still another aspect of this economic revolution ought to be mentioned. It deals with social security. We have heard much criticism of social security from the rugged individualists who believe that a person should save privately for his old age and not expect the taxpayer to keep him. There was some merit in that attitude under the old dispensation I was reared under, but not any more. If a good (economic) American is he who

spends all or more than he makes, then he cannot save for his old age. He who did so would be running against the current, and if many people did, our prosperity would be endangered. Of course it follows that if the good citizen is the good spender, then the country owes him a living in his old age. I confess I do not particularly like that sort of reasoning, and yet I am realistic enough to admit its factual basis.

It is hardly necessary to point out that such a Keynesian spending philosophy could get out of hand and push the country into a vaulting inflation. Additionally, if nobody saves for the future, there is nothing available for investment which underlies the growth of industry. In the fall of 1956 an increase in the interest rate was ordered by the Federal Reserve Board to attract more money into capital investment, and, by the same token, less into consumer spending. Federal Reserve people felt there was danger of runaway inflation if hogwild buying continued. They admitted that the American people were saving, and were pleased that the savings as of 1955, amounting to 16.6 billions of dollars, would probably reach 21 billions in 1956. Yet they demanded even more saving by the people.

The Federal Reserve Board's action manifested a disagreement between government and business: government wants more saving, whereas sellers of consumer goods want more spending. Industrialists, too, know that they must keep the people's buying habits strong or there will be no profits. Hence management is not too much opposed to increasing wages; the more money there is in the hands of the working families the more products they will buy and the larger the profit of manufacturer and seller alike. The price can always be upped to take care of the higher wages.

VII.

Perhaps at this point we may begin to understand the assertion, made earlier, that the real cause of the long continued depression was a change-over from an economy which rested on cash to one which rested on debt —

or more accurately, a refusal to accept the change after it had become established.

There had been a definite trend towards credit-buying long before 1929; as a matter of fact installment purchasing goes back to to the middle of the last century. Although buying on time increased because it was so convenient to the customer and because it seemed to be a good weapon by which the seller could win new business, the older ideology of paying as you go and of living off your own—which stemmed from the Puritan ethic—held on and dominated American thinking, if not practice. In my youth I remember our neighbors talking about the evils involved in going into debt; and yet they themselves would buy "on tick," as it was then called, although they never liked to admit the fact. People who bought groceries "on tick" were looked down upon as somehow being profligate, unthrifty, and not quite socially acceptable; nevertheless more and more families, especially during inflated times in World War I, did it. Buying "on tick" meant more spending, and more spending entailed less saving for the future.

There is no point in laying blame upon any individual for such a deep cyclical trend as was rapidly taking place. Yet the first person of importance who put into action the idea of saving in order to spend was Henry Ford. Early in his automobile-making career he needed a sales slogan, and one of his bright young men came up with this: "Buy a Ford and Save the Difference." Asking, "What do you care if they save the extra money?" Ford changed the wording to "Buy a Ford and Spend the Difference." Soon people were trying to save money on purchases only to fill immediate needs, not future ones. When this altered attitude became widespread, American business had undergone a sea change.

Then came the feverish 1920's, with a further decline in the old Puritan ethic of austere living and strict accountability. The good times of that decade are to be attributed, in large part, to spending for bootleg liquor, raccoon coats, silk shirts, shares on

the New York Stock market, and other luxuries. Predilections against spending and debt were practically abandoned by most Americans.

Abruptly, in the fall of 1929, great numbers of such spenders stopped buying because they feared they had overextended themselves; those who had already entered into a purgatory of installment debt tightened up. Everyone wanted to become liquid, that is to say, to return to a cash basis. Fear of being sold out or of losing everything as the stock market went crazy was nationwide. Spenders who tried to get safely back around the corner found they were too late.

Because we of the 1950's have the advantage of wisdom after the event, there are certain things we now know: (a) Any attempted reversal to the system of pre-1914 days — especially after a spending and debt economy had been established in the 1920's — would bring disaster. It did. More than ten years of disaster. (b) A long period of adjustment was required before American public opinion willingly accepted again an economy of spending and debt, and then only for the purpose of winning a war. (c) The endeavor to turn the clock backward to the economic mores of another generation produced an agony of bankruptcies, foreclosures, loss of bank savings, and all the rest of what was denominated as "going through the wringer." (d) At the very moment in the fall and winter of 1929-30, when private spending and private credit began to dry up, government should have gone all-out in injecting buying power into the dying economic system. When it failed to do so, the horrible thirties originated.

Some four years after the onset of the deflation, the New Dealers proceeded to pour considerable amounts of credit into the comatose business order, and much good was accomplished. They enabled the country to preserve itself from revolution by forces of an antidemocratic nature. Yet the key fact is involved in the following questions: Why did the expansion of public spending by the Democrats fail to solve the problem com-

pletely? Why were all the unemployed not put back to work?

The answer is easy and can be given in two parts. (a) Even the New Dealers thought in terms of a return to 1910 and looked longingly back at what people nostalgically remembered as a happy day of thrift, saving, cash, and pay-as-you-go. What was needed was a realistic acceptance of the truth that people were living in the 1930's, and that any revival of a dead world was impossible. (b) For that reason, the New Dealers did not spend enough. They had the right approach (Why not? It came from Hoover), but they lacked the courage of their convictions. The pump was primed with a cup of water when a barrel of water was indicated. If the tale were not so tragic and pitiful, it would be amusing to recall that many Americans worried and fretted over such "scandalous extravagance" as a four-billion-dollar appropriation to aid the unemployed; and that they were afraid the federal debt would be swollen to the point where it might either be a permanent burden or lead to inflation. Remember? Now Congress passes budgets amounting to sixty and seventy billions of dollars and we hardly blink an eye.

Yet we know that government can, provided the people are willing to carry the debt, spend the country into prosperity. We know it because of what happened after Pearl Harbor. Instead of dribbles, billions upon billions of dollars were flushed into industry, without stint and without any thought of debt. In a few months the long horror of unemployment and hard times evaporated like a fog under the morning sun.

That fact leaves two questions which I propose but which I pass on to those who like to argue about the national psychology: (a) Why were we willing to go into debt to fight an external foe like Hitler, but not to defeat internal ones like hunger and unemployment? (b) Is war necessary to get us out of depressions and to keep our economic system going at top speed?

However the cause may be explained, the

new dispensation of debt and spending was opposed until it was needed to overturn Hitler. Now, as a general rule, most Americans (many of them very reluctantly) accept the new economy. Both major political parties know they can never permit such a long period of depression again. Under the Employment Act of 1946, the United States Government is committed to fight unemployment and hard times in every way it can. In that Act the American people not only consented to the new order of things as a recognition of fact, but they have legislated that consent into law. The President knows that the moment private and government spending slows down so that more than 5% of the employables are out of work, the Federal team must swing into action with public works to sop up the unemployment. Indeed it is wise to have something ready all the time. The Highway Act of 1956, which will provide a million jobs, could serve as such a cushion if unemployment should become serious.

VIII.

The Great Depression created a new

America — the hard way, by caesarian delivery. This new America is, however, the result of a peaceful revolution by decision of the majority. Though perhaps more brash and more synthetic than the old one, it is infinitely stronger and richer. The masses of the people are so much better off that the creature comforts of today make my boyhood home — adequate as it was by 1910 standards — seem like a barn. The old freedoms and rights are just as solidly established as before, despite the predictions of anti-New-Deal Republicans. The Federal Government costs more but is doing more for me. It is much more the servant of the people than it was in the 1920's when it was outrightly the servant of big business. Taxes are higher but so also are wages and salaries. And what the soviets are trying to achieve through brutalitarian methods — that is, to raise the standard of living of the proletariat by industrialization — we have not only done but surpassed, using the devices of humanity and democracy.

In general, as of now, things look reasonably good. The question is: How long will they remain reasonably good?

Should Religion Be Taught in the Public Schools?

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The lives of men are governed by the values they hold. These values are patterns in the cycles of civilizations men have created or destroyed. However, no civilization has existed without embodying and making manifest certain moral and ethical values, which men of the contemporary age have found appropriate to call "spiritual values." Since time immemorial these spiritual values have had their adequacy from ethereal and

natural sources. The ethereal source, as conceived by men, was shrouded in mysticism, superstition, and mythology. Men have called this source God or Gods. The natural source was characteristic of or explainable by the operations of and experiences with the physical and material world. Often the natural source embodied some of the ethereal qualities. All these spiritual values (natural or supernatural) man chose to call religion or

the "religious quality in living." If religion, or the religious quality in living, was a powerful force governing the lives men live, then it was and must be an important obligation of education.

It has been found that when men live by the ethereal qualities and permit their lives to be governed by these qualities, the interrelationships of men with men — society — had a tendency to be suppressed by fear of the life beyond, by superstition, and by love and devotion to the God or Gods. When men live by the natural qualities and permit their lives to be governed by the material or physical world, the interrelationships of men with men — society — had a tendency to run unrestrained by the mad desire, competition, and scramble for material gain. This unrestrained madness has always ended in destruction. History has repeated itself in this aspect many times. Man never profits in the lessons of history when he becomes materialistically governed in his quest for power and gold.

Today society, religion and education are experiencing this boon of materialistic growth, and the tumult and chaos resulting from this worship of the purely materialistic concept of man has kept the earth in constant conflict. Hardly a day goes by but men oppose men on not one but many battle fronts for the materialistic gain they hope to gather. Unsuppressed man without fear of punishment from an inescapable power (mythical or real) becomes a self-dissipating and destroying force. The salvation of man is through education, whether spiritual or material.

WHAT SHOULD THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DO?

One of the nineteen amendments (one of the ten finally adopted) which James Madison proposed to the first Congress in 1789 was that Congress shall make no laws pertaining to the establishment of a state religion, or prohibit the free exercise of religion. The intention of this amendment is interpreted to mean that Congress shall not establish a state religion and enforce the legal observation of it by law, nor compel

men to worship God in any manner contrary to their conscience.

We probably can educate without religion, but will it be the type of education that will perpetuate a democracy? Democracies have come and gone, and many are forgotten. The causes of the downfall of past democracies are easily established. They represent the sins of humanity, selfishness, hate, greed, persecution of minorities, love of power, and the disregard of *freedom of speech*. These are the forces that generally undermine democracies.

The many provisions of our legislative enactments may be broadly interpreted as not opposing religion but preventing any discrimination between denominations. If religion is one of the most fundamental functions of democracy, why should it be excluded from the schools? If democracy is to survive and prevail in the world of the future, education must succeed in developing a better understanding of democratic principles, and in promoting a great zeal for the attainment of these principles in actual living than has been achieved in the past. If we cannot teach the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, justice, decency and the Christian doctrine of love along with modern thought, then we had better dismantle our splendid and magnificent buildings and return to the little red schoolhouse. Young Americans must manage somehow to come by some common body of ideals such as truth, goodness, justice, honesty, duty, and a host of other ingredients that constitute the spiritual and cultural heritage of Western civilization. How can they be better acquired than from trustworthy sources in education?

If it is illegal for a child to attend religious classes in a public school, isn't it also illegal for the government to require West Point graduates and Annapolis midshipmen to go to church on Sunday, or for the armed forces to have their chaplains who are paid with tax money, or to have chaplains who open each session of Congress with prayer, or to have prison chaplains in our penal institutions?

The American Council of Education published a report of a committee on Religion and Education entitled "The Relation of Religion to Public Education—Basic Principles," that performs at least one good service when it brings into the open a discussion of such a pertinent present-day issue. While its conclusions seem contradictory and seem to stop short of the real issue, it has provided a sounding board on which educators of the country can integrate their own thinking and one which the many studies and articles on this subject have had their foundations. This report is the result of the thinking of an imposing group of educational leaders representing the major religious faiths of our nation. This report and the storm of controversy which it aroused, together with the statistics available and the observations in the personal experience of most educators, seems to be sufficient cause for believing that this is an issue that will be with us a long time, and therefore, a problem for which a solution must be sought.

With a problem as large, as controversial, and as undecided as this one, no discussion such as this present one should presume to present all of the answers or to propose a definite solution. Religion in education is a local, and a constantly changing issue. Specialists in the field of religious education agree that we need religious education, even though they do not agree as to the kind of religious education best suited or how it should be given. The religion should be of such nature that it will be good enough for our schools and yet meet the denominational requirements of its people. What should the public school do?

Religious education is prohibited in the schools of twelve states. It is required in twelve states and permitted in twenty-four states and the District of Columbia. It has been shown that this is a problem. Now it is the task of educators to set about seeking a solution in the same manner we seek solutions for all other problems. In our endeavors we must realize all the while that this prob-

lem involves the most dynamic of all forces—the emotions resulting from careful indoctrination of individuals by families and churches from their infancy.

COMMUNITY ACTION AS AN ANSWER

It has been stated before that the problem is a local issue which changes from time to time. If this is true then the local individuals in towns and cities must organize a way to use the problem-solving approach. The little that has been done in seeking solutions seems to have been characterized by high-pressure tactics exerted by minorities upon school authorities.

This is not an issue for a group to decide. It cannot be settled quickly nor can it be settled once and for all. If the schools are for the people, then such a controversial issue should be amply discussed by all groups in a given locality, and conclusions which are at least temporarily acceptable to all should be reached. This places all parties imbued with diverse solutions in the position of being willing to sit down in a group consisting of representatives of all faiths and representatives of those who have no faith for the purpose of reaching some common solution. This is democratic group thinking and action as it should be. This method is superior to the attempt to put the "bee" on the Board of Education or the school superintendent, and having either respond to the most vocal or forceful minority of the school community. No true proponent of the democratic process can refuse to partake of this procedure.

If the factor of religion is an important one, and a part of the whole child, then he must have an opportunity to become aware of it and familiar with it as a part of his broad personal development. The individual, in developing integrity, cannot merely be a weathervane turning briskly with every doctrinal wind that blows. He must possess key loyalties and key convictions which can serve as a basis of judgment and as a standard of action. It is doubly important in this age of powerful conflicting propagandas that the school help our youth to the possession of a firm core of democratic convictions, ideals,

and standards by which to weigh controversial claims. Failure to do so will make our youth the victims of the most insistent, plausible, or subversive propagandist that can hold youth's attention.

Unless the educational leaders of America agree to accept at least the bare minimum (which should include the existence of a Supreme Being, the faith in a future life, and universal beliefs in mankind whether church members or not) the task of the public school teacher in developing spiritual values will be most difficult, if not impossible. The greatest goals to strive for are: religious literacy, commonness of purpose, democratic processes, and unity.

The American people have been firm be-

lievers in spirit and in practice, in the existence of a God and a future life. These the Declaration of Independence proclaims valid beliefs, and many pronouncements of our past presidents and other public officials emphasize these beliefs, not to mention the people themselves.

The change from a religious to a secular school system in America, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, occurred not because Americans abandoned religion but because of the complications which arose from teaching conflicting religious beliefs in the schools. The problem of teaching religion in American public schools can be best resolved by democratic discussion resulting in a synthesis of the major agreements of the diverse issues of all concerned.

Delinquency and Crime as Part of A Course of Social Studies

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While recently engaged in the task of reviewing the teaching of criminology in the United States for a publication of UNESCO¹, I became interested in surveying some aspects of the current concern for juvenile delinquency and crime in a high school Social Studies course. Let me hasten to add that I do not think it appropriate for this age level to discuss intricate details of criminal law, the etiology of crime, research methodology, or the psychiatric esoterics of rehabilitation. The Social Studies course is not an arena for the objective display of theories of criminality and delinquency, or for a presentation of psychoanalytic concepts and dynamics watered down for the layman's ears. Furthermore, the jargon of the psychiatrist or social worker should not be employed in class to provide mawkishly sentimentalized "under-

standing" of the "juvenile in a delinquent society." I am not suggesting that the psychiatrist and social worker are "sentimental," that the linguistic tools of their disciplines are not useful, or that their causal and therapeutic hypotheses are wrong. I would, however, assert that, transmitted by a teacher inadequately trained in these fields and using the less precise colloquialisms needed to insure at least some understanding by the students, the etiological explanations current in academic research in criminology and penology would be presented to the students in a most improper way. Lack of experience and general knowledge by students would probably result in misunderstanding. As I have recently pointed out elsewhere,² too quickly does the contemporary youth, seeking a "way out" of his anti-social path, find it

(for himself, at any rate) in the "blamelessness" of psychoanalytic conceptualism so common today. Case studies, as a way of illustration of delinquency (personality disorder, poor home environment, ecological factors predisposant to delinquency, etc.) seem more like encouraging tools for the juvenile (i.e., "After all, I'm not to blame. It's my alcoholic father and prostitute mother. We kids never had a chance. Don't blame me") to engage in conduct frankly anti-social, for he knows he will be "understood." Of course, we all vociferously announce, the adolescent *does* need understanding and an awareness that he is being understood. However, it is understanding of the transitional state of youth from childhood to adulthood that needs understanding. It is the ambivalence of adolescence that requires intelligent adult perception—that desire on the part of youth to have the benefits of childhood security without its troublesome restrictions, and the freedom of adult movement and expression with none of its responsibilities. The ambivalence takes another form too, of course, viewed more objectively: namely, that the adolescent is inconsistently treated, in some situations as a child, while in others as a potential or actual adult. This latter aspect of adolescence has been well covered in other studies and literature.^{3, 4, 5} Understanding of the mind of youth means, then, an appreciation both of the more endogenous, introspective, subjective attitude which the adolescent possesses as well as the more exogenous, objective societal inconsistency in working with that age group. In any case, to imply to the young student's mind that understanding means "blamelessness" and an absence of any real punishment for wrong conduct is both a semantic error and an unfortunate social consequence.

Now that we have briefly mentioned what should not be included in a Social Studies course that includes a discussion of delinquency and crime, we may proceed to the positive aspects of such a discussion. My purpose is not to give specific content matter, or to provide ready data for presentation.

My interest is to provide a firm and substantial *basis for presentation* of material to students in these courses. A syllabus of material may be changed to meet varying pedagogical circumstances; therefore, I am primarily concerned with the governing principles underlying any type outline of material. These principles may be referred to as the social functions of a discussion of delinquency and crime in a Social Studies course. These functions admittedly are subjective evaluations. They are goal-directed functions and it would be naive to suggest that any such functional approach is pure objectivism in the educational process. However, the pervasive middle class ethic that provides the predominant consensus of our social thought suggests these functional goals, and I feel no necessity to apologize for this ethic.

The primary (if not all) functions of a delinquency-crime discussion in a Social Studies course include the following:

1. To aid the student to rise above his own specific, immediate social situation. The students should be helped to project *self* beyond the confines of specific, concrete interpersonal immediacy. They should be aided in thus becoming identified—often subconsciously—with a higher level of life perspective. In so doing they come to see ("see," again, in a subconscious sense, perhaps) that they and their own families and neighborhoods are not unique. They may be guided, therefore, in losing some of that excessive adolescent (particularly late adolescent) self-consciousness and group consciousness that makes them highly anthropo-centric. The world revolves around them, and quite literally this is often true, for personal interests being at a minimum range during this age, the small self- and group-perceived world within which their mode of behavior occurs appears commendable and monistically all that is possible. I am not suggesting a student identification with authority in this attempt to lift them beyond self and their immediate social environment. Quite the contrary. But these students are intellectually and emotionally capable of occasionally

taking that proverbial Martian, objective view of themselves and their peers, their way of thinking and behaving, their culture and subculture. They can be placed in the methodological role of participant observer in their own social groups — at least occasionally.

We may, then, substitute for the garrulous flamboyancy of adolescent hedonism, the romance of a higher level of perspective, the sense of superior insight into one's environment. Some objectors to this position might contend that only a few students could reach such a level. I believe it would be unduly pessimistic to assume that only the "bright" and already "wholesome" students are capable of this process. It is not an insurmountable abstraction that I am suggesting; and inability of the student to verbalize the end result of this process does not indicate his inability to have both an affective and cognitive appreciation of, and participation in it.

In order to produce this level of perception beyond self so that the student almost automatically takes a more objective view of his own behavior, that of his gang, of his "street corner society," and of the consequences of delinquent conduct, the use of a general statistical approach to the problem of crime and delinquency might be appropriate.⁶ This is the place for a description of the extent and volume of delinquency, of the basic aspects of criminal law, of the rate of delinquency and crime in the national and the local community. Show how the nature of delinquent acts has changed from the "apple-stealing" variety of yesteryear to the violent, aggressive, assaultive crimes of today. Clearly demonstrate the rise in the delinquency rate (if this be the case, of course; and today it appears to be such in most communities), the numbers arrested, those who experience a court trial, who are sent to detention homes and institutions for such offenders. Point out the direct costs of crime and delinquency in terms of financial losses in robbery, larceny, auto theft, burglary, and the indirect costs of these property as well as personal offences, such as the loss of life, manpower wasted, the cost of insurance, police, courts, etc. Such

discussions are not abstract or complicated, but when entered into by the student, yield a level of perception that takes him beyond the minutiae of his own microcosm, and the macrocosmic view he comes to attain is subconsciously retained when he interacts on a more intimate, personal basis within his own limited environment.

2. To inculcate the middle class ethic relative to personal violence and property values. It may be true, as Albert Cohen⁷ has brilliantly pointed out in *Delinquent Boys*, that often the subculture from which a large proportion of delinquents comes is comprised of a lower socio-economic value system distinctly different from that of the middle class value-orientation offered by the majority of teachers; and that disciplinary problems occur within a framework where there is little communication between these value systems. Too often the settlement worker and conscientious citizen seeking to do good works in ecological "zones in transition" fail to understand that there is a difference, or take cognizance of this value differentiation. To cope with the orientation of the "street corner society" is commendable, of course, and the work of the Chicago Area Project under Clifford Shaw and his associates has produced admirable results.⁸ Selection of teachers in ecological areas of an urban community who can handle disciplinary problems of this sort, and in general meet the rebellion-of-authority approach of his students is a major problem of educational administration. Within the framework of the class environment we have set ourselves in the present discussion, I would contend that any alternatives to the middle class values regarding personal violence and property are poor substitutes for the latter which now prevail in our culture. De-emphasis of personal aggression, avoidance of violence, toleration of dissenting opinion, respect for individual rights and private property seem best fitted to the task of providing democratic social harmony, law, and order, which are, as Auguste Comte contended, the basic principles behind the establishment of so-

ciety. The generalized Protestant Ethic relative to productive labor, thrift, economy and so forth are not required to accomplish the goal inherent in this second function, which is concerned only with the matter of violence and respect of property. There is no need to evoke a "work for the night is coming" philosophy, or a "God loves the thrifty worker" theology. The use of data showing the volume and extent of violent crimes and delinquencies and the amount and kinds of a variety of goods stolen or destroyed by criminal offenders might serve both the first and second functions mentioned. No case studies of violence should be reviewed. No specific techniques of delinquencies involving assault or robbery should be mentioned. The mass culture of TV, comics, and radio do their overabundant share of such presentation, although they probably do not "seduce the innocent" quite so much as Frederick Wertham suggests.⁹

3. To develop respect for law and authority without complete submission to it. The "something for nothing" psychology combined with the attitude that "so long as one is not caught anything is all right" are pervasive viewpoints in our culture. It is difficult to prove to young minds that crime does not pay in a materialistic setting. Gamblers *do* get rich and both syndicated and local racketeers too obviously flourish. It is difficult for the adolescent mind, with a hedonistic immediacy built into his life orientation, to see the bitter consequences of continued delinquency and a life pattern of violation of the law. Two pedagogical approaches suggest themselves at this point. One is societal, and would historically treat the question of law violation. It would demonstrate that from preliterate through ancient, medieval and early modern times criminal groups have existed and have had to face the retributory, expiatory, or deterrent theories of punishment which the collective group having the power to enforce their beliefs have invoked to defend itself against anti-social behavior. The second approach would be that of individual case studies. But I repeat, these should

not be case studies in causation, but in punishment. This should be a subtle rather than a blatantly obvious technique of indirectly saying, "Look what happened to so-and-so when he did thus." The end result, the final punishment, the eschatological product of delinquent behavior or a criminal career can be used as a forceful and effective tool — negatively as a deterrent, positively as a means of developing respect for the law.

4. To show that internalization of these values — respect for law and order, person, and property — does not result in loss of individuality. The adolescent above all age and status gradations in society seeks assertion of individuality. Almost as if adolescence were the last frontier, the last chance for individualism, youth today (perhaps always) seeks to express itself. The stronger the strain towards adult conformity becomes, the more deviant and opposite this last and adolescent thrust of non-conformity seems to be. The admonitions of William A. Whyte's *The Organization Man* are implicitly felt by the late adolescent who is dominated by a renascent surge in his physiology and the impending pull toward increasing "adjustment" to his environment and conformity to adult expectations of behavior. The reluctance to conformity is a Renaissance and adolescent characteristic, and a trait not to be totally villainized by the "mature," "adjusted" and co-operative-minded adult, else the creativity and dynamism to which we give merit in our history be thwarted and we produce largely Huxlian Deltas and Epsilons, well-adjusted to their statuses in the stability of a "brave new world." The boys down at the local corner drug store have a term for a member of their group who too quickly conforms to the demands and pressures of the middle class ethic. They call it "selling out," a term which implies that he has given up the battle against conformity and has lost his individualism. Actually, it is the delinquent recidivist who has "sold out" (and this attitude should be the approach of the intelligent teacher) — sold out his chances for a good life where freedom of

the individual to express himself in a myriad of productive and socially and personally useful ways is presented to the person who operates within the framework of the law. Again, case studies, without adding the benefit of ignoble fame to the particular criminals, would be a means of demonstrating this type of "selling out." Finally, illustrations of national, state, and local personalities who have successfully in their careers asserted their individuality while still manifesting respect for law, order, other persons and their property, provide a good transition from a discussion of delinquency and crime to that of politics, government, and other aspects of a Social Studies course.

¹Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang, "Rapport sur les aspects sociologiques de l'enseignement de la criminologie aux Etats-Unis," prepared

for the UNESCO publication, *Les Sciences Sociales dans l'Enseignement Supérieur, Criminologie* (Lausanne: l'Imprimerie Centrale, 1956), pp. 92-110.

²Marvin E. Wolfgang, "The Contribution of Freud to our Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency," *Educational Outlook*, XXXI (November, 1956) 14-21.

³Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, 7:604-616, (1942).

⁴Harold E. Jones, "Adolescence in our Society," *The Family in a Democratic Society: American Papers of the Community Service Society of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 70-84.

⁵James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954).

⁶*Uniform Crime Reports* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Justice).

⁷Albert Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

⁸Ernest W. Burgess, Joseph D. Lohman, and Clifford R. Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," *Yearbook*, N.P.P.A. (1937), pp. 8-28; also, Fred A. Romano, "Organizing a Community for Delinquency Prevention," *Yearbook*, N.P.P.A. (1940), pp. 1-12.

⁹Frederic Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1954).

Was George Right?

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Are the citizens of the United States reversing the nineteenth century trend in regard to political parties and reverting to something of the eighteenth century position? If there is a change in trend, has the school had anything to do with the change?

The Idea of Political Parties in the 18th Century

Eighteenth century Americans tended to look with disfavor on political parties. The founding fathers made no provision for political parties in the basic framework of our government. Our first president, in line with this philosophy, strongly urged against the establishment of political parties, advocating a "no-party" or a "one-party" system of representative government. Under this policy, elected officials were to use their individual discretion and judgment in reaching governmental decisions and were to be held

individually responsible for those decisions. The position of the elected official was to be somewhat analogous to that of a member of a board of directors of a corporation. The directors are hired by the stockholders to run the business, and once a year the stockholders meet to decide how good a job each director has done and on that basis to praise and raise him or to denounce and fire him.

The Idea of Political Parties in the 19th Century

But hardly had our new government been established when political parties inside the government and of a continuing nature began to develop, despite the philosophy of government of the framers of the constitution and the warnings of Washington. Democratic trends brought the electorate a desire to play a positive, rather than a merely negative, role in government, and the two-party

system which developed furnished channels of communication for large blocks of citizens to express their governmental wants. Each of the major parties united various smaller special interest and pressure groups, so that a large mass of voters could speak in a united voice. The elected official became less an independent "director" and more an "agent" of the people who spoke through their chosen party. The official, elected by the people through their parties, could be held accountable to the party or through the party, and was subject to party discipline if he did not work to carry out the platform of the party.

*The Idea of Political Parties
in the 20th Century*

Is the electorate in the United States today, consciously or unconsciously, rejecting or modifying this nineteenth century development of political parties and reverting to more of an eighteenth century position? There are many indications of a growth in independent voting, both by citizen and politician, and comments about this trend are often favorable. For instance, *Time* (November 19, 1956) with apparent approval reported in analyzing the 1956 elections: "The true key to the 1956 election lay in the politically discriminating voter, better informed than ever before about personalities and issues. Long ago convinced that the presidential candidate of his choice would take care of such national issues as peace and prosperity, the voter exercised decisive power in choosing between state and local candidates without regard for party labels, political bosses or popular coattails. That voter changed all the equations of U. S. politics, for now and tomorrow." As if to emphasize the "key," the same issue of *Time* stated that the "memorable fact of 1956 . . . was that in state after state, district after district, town after town, voters ignored party affiliations to elect candidates of individual local merit (or to defeat candidates of individual demerit)."

If the voter has indeed decided to ignore political parties, then it follows that the voter must hold each candidate individually re-

sponsible for his conduct in office. Will the voter do this job well enough to substitute for the collective responsibility, the party discipline, which is available in a functioning two-party system to carry out the will of the majority through their chosen political party and to hold accountable the office-holder? Will he be able to decide whether the political leader who breaks with his party on major issues is a courageous champion, or just a poor loser and a poor democrat who refuses to accept the rule of the majority? In a day when pressure groups make such an effort to influence government for their private purposes, what, if political parties are now passe, will unite diverse interests into a unified demand and what will speak for those groups of voters who have no militant, well-heeled lobby in centers of government to speak for them? If governmental interests are now so diverse that they can no longer be united into two dominant parties, will there be a unified view, or will we split up into such diverse elements that government must always be through temporary coalitions of conflicting interests, which, experience indicates, often break down in crises?

*The Influence of the School on the Idea of
Political Parties*

The answer to these questions and others which may be inferred from this shift in principle in regard to the best way for the electorate to control the government will, of course, have to be answered by the electorate as a whole. But the questions should be of more than academic interest to the school, for the question might be raised if the education today's voter received in the school has not contributed to this trend.

The Textbooks. The course offered in the schools where the most students are most likely to learn any facts about the advantages and disadvantages of the two-party system is the *Civics* or *Citizenship* course, offered generally the first year of the four-year high school or the last year of the three-year junior high school. A survey of some of the recent texts designed for this course re-

vealed, on the whole, an inadequate treatment of the role of political parties to give the student a sound basis of facts and principles for a decision. Frequently, the disadvantages of political parties received more emphasis than the advantages. Seldom, in suggesting duties of citizens, was any mention made of participation in activities of political parties. At times the question of party voting or independent voting was raised but inadequate discussion was given for deciding the question. Some texts were inclined to encourage independent voting.

The Teachers. If the basic texts do not, and perhaps by their nature cannot, go deeply enough into the subject to give an adequate and fair picture of the role of political parties, is it likely the teacher and her class will? In some instances, perhaps so, but there are still too many text-following, text-dependent teachers in all areas, and the area of the social studies may be one of the worst. For though more teachers get certified to teach social studies and more teachers teach them than any other one area, it is one of the most difficult fields to prepare adequately to teach and to keep prepared. Elementary teachers teach social studies in every grade, but their total college training in the field frequently consists of isolated courses which amount in semester hours to less than a college minor. The secondary teacher of social studies has more college hours in the field to her credit but the field is so broad she frequently has blind spots unremedied by courses or private study. For the junior-senior secondary school teacher of social studies to prepare through course work for what she is expected to be able to teach would require the equivalent of at least a college minor of carefully chosen courses in many different college departments. She should know all history—the history of western and eastern culture, ancient and modern, Latin American and English history, American and local history plus world human, political science and government, Economics and Sociology. Naturally she must keep up-to-date with all the current happenings in

these subjects. Obviously with such a program, there will be some teachers certified to teach social studies who, at least, in the beginning know little about the operation of government and will thus rely on what is in the book. If teachers are at times inadequately prepared academically, their practical political education is frequently nonexistent. Comparatively few teachers have ever attended, even as spectators, a policy making meeting of a political party. Our professional attitudes along such lines are a little contradictory. We insist the school should be life but we frequently do not encourage or even permit the teacher to participate fully in life.

The Independent Voter. With such a background of text materials and teacher preparation has not the school then followed frequently the thinking of the pseudo-intellectuals in praising the independent voter at the expense of the party-line voter? Has not the situation where the “intelligent” minority independent voter representing the balance of power between two parties been pictured as best? But have we stopped to think what happens if the independent voter becomes the majority? Has it not been implied that to vote blindly for a candidate because he was the party’s representative was foolish but has it also been pointed out that the independent voter can disregard the party and yet vote for the man for foolish reasons? In the last few years some social psychologists have intimated that some American voters were emotionally immature and had a child’s father complex. Thus they vote for Father Roosevelt or Papa Eisenhower to solve whatever problems were then foremost in their minds—be they depression or war. That would appear to be a citizen’s method of “buck-passing,” of avoiding problems, of refusing to accept responsibility—let Daddy do it. In theory the independent voter supposedly votes for the man or the principle or issue, not the party. But unless the reasons for this vote are sound, is it not an even more dangerous policy than voting for a party or a group? In recent years did

not several European democracies become dictatorships by voting for the man? Does not the independent voter find himself at times impaled on the horns of a dilemma when the man he prefers is on one ticket, and the principles he prefers on the other? Then, which shall govern his ballot? Possibly the greatest weakness of the position of the independent voter, however, is that he does not have and cannot have under present conditions much influence in establishing the policy or nominating the man for which or for whom he must vote, if vote he does. He is above political parties where policies are made and candidates nominated. Even with the direct primary system, the unorganized independent voter seldom has much influence on the list of candidates from which he must choose. Thus, he is at times faced with what to him is a choice of evils — none of which he did anything to avoid or alleviate.

The questions which have been raised here are no attempt to glorify the role of the political party, to praise the party-liner or to decry the independent voter or office-holder. There is no attempt here to render a value judgment on what appears to be the trend toward the decreased power and influence

of political parties and the growth of independent voting by both public and politician. Nor is the question answered as to what influence the school has had and is having on this apparent trend; on whether the voters today are acting on a basis of adequate information about the workings of government; on whether the school has presented a prejudiced view of the intellectual and ethical characteristics of the independent voter in contrast with the straight-ticket voter; on whether the voter knows the values of political parties when they are intelligently used and has thought about how the government will operate when each voter and office-holder become a law unto themselves. Such questions to a large extent should be answered by each individual teacher for herself and her students, particularly perhaps by teachers of social studies. Regardless of whether the school has led, cooperated, or merely followed this trend, it would seem teachers would want to give their students complete, accurate, adequate, unbiased information and understanding of the problems involved, so that the students, as citizens, could make thought-through intelligent decisions. Have we, and are they?

The Destruction of the Pequods

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In his essay "Traits of Indian Character" Washington Irving describes the destruction of the Pequods. He tells how, like savage beasts of the forest, these Indians were hunted down by the white man; and he makes his description more forceful by quoting from the impassioned *Narrative* of the Reverend Mr. William Hubbard.

All early accounts of the destruction of the Pequot Indians seem to agree that the English colonists in Connecticut, kept in a con-

tinual state of uneasiness by attacks of the Pequods, determined, as Hubbard says, to "root them out of the earth,"¹ and quite deliberately they set about this task of extermination.

In the spring of 1637, Connecticut raised a small force of about 90 men, who were commanded by Captain John Mason; Massachusetts sent 20 men, commanded by Captain John Underhill; and on May 16, 1637, this combined little army left Saybrook, bound

for the Pequod stronghold, which stood at a place near where Stonington now stands. The plan of the English was to sail to Narragansett Bay, disembark, and continue overland to the fort, and so take the Indians by surprise. When the Pequods saw the vessels sail past the Thames, they jumped to the conclusion that the English had given up their plan of attacking them, and in the exuberance of their relief they began preparations for a great feast to celebrate their deliverance.

Meanwhile, however, the English soldiers kept steadily to their course, and on May 26 just before daybreak the company, now composed of about 300 Indian allies in addition to 77 Englishmen, threaded their way through the trees and approached the fort.

This fort was, Captain John Underhill writes, "well nigh an acre of ground, which was surrounded with trees and half trees, set into the ground three feet deep and fastened close one to the other."² On the opposite sides were narrow openings, and Captain Mason advanced upon one, and Captain Underhill the other. The Indian allies, placed in a ring battalion outside the English soldiers, fired a great volley; and the Pequods within, who were sleeping soundly after hours of happy festival, awoke in great terror, setting up a great cry in which surprise, anger, and despair were mingled. For several minutes the fighting within the fort was most furious; then Mason and Underhill set fire to the wigwams. The Indians were completely trapped. Men, women, and children were burned to death. Those who tried to force their way out at the two openings were, in the words of Captain Underhill, "received and entertained with the point of the sword . . . those that scaped us fell into the hands of the Indians that were in the rear of us. It was reported by themselves that there were above four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands."³ In contrast to the Reverend Mr. Hubbard, who refers to the Pequods as "sullen dogs" and "savage wolves," Captain Underhill speaks of them with re-

spect, if not with sympathy; for he calls them "courageous fellows," and he declares that they "perished valiantly." Neither he nor Captain Mason, however, has any doubt as to the rightness of his actions; each man believes that he and his country are justified by God's word in the Bible account of David's war.

Although the battle for the Pequod stronghold lasted only about an hour, it was a fatal blow to these Indians. It put an end to their nation, for now their strength was gone never to return. As a tribe the destruction of the Pequods was complete.

There was left, however, a small remnant of individuals, who scattered themselves throughout the region. Sassacus, the chief sachem, fled for protection to the Mohawks, but these erstwhile friends murdered him and sent his scalp to the English as a pledge of friendship; for now all the Indians were in awe of the English, and few dared harbor an English enemy.

And the English, not satisfied with the wholesale slaughter at the fort, seemed bent upon seeking out and destroying each individual Pequod, wherever he might think to hide himself. Hearing that a number of them had been discovered "by the side of a river up the country . . . there cooped up as in a pound,"⁴ the English sent soldiers, who took all of these Indians without any opposition. The men, they immediately put to death, the women and children they sent into captivity. Next, they started in pursuit of a group of Pequods who were fleeing toward Manhatance. As these Indians could travel but slowly because of their children and their lack of food, in desperation they took refuge in a swamp. Surrounded by the English and refusing to surrender, they were shot to death as they sat close together, proud, silent, unresisting. Thus on July 13, 1637, was ended the Pequod War.

Now, the few surviving Pequods, writes Captain Mason, "became a Prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the English: of which there came almost daily to Winsor, or Hartford."⁵

Finally, worn out with living as fugitives, the remaining Pequods sent their leaders to the English, agreeing in advance to any terms that might be made. The English divided these survivors between the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, further specifying that none should ever again inhabit their native place, nor should any of them be called by their rightful name of Pequods. In the future they should be known as Narragansetts and Mohegans.

Truly, the destruction of the Pequods was accomplished with "Cromwellian thoroughness," and "the tribe which had once lorded

it so fiercely over the New England forests was all at once wiped out of existence."⁶

¹ William Hubbard, *Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England* (Brattleborough: William Fessenden, 1814), p. 25.

² Captain John Underhill, "News from America," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: American Stationers' Co., 1837), VI, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 40-41.

⁵ Captain John Mason, "Brief History of the Pequot War," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: Sewell Phelps, 1819), VIII, 148.

⁶ John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1889), p. 133.

The Teachers' Page

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Reading Materials for the "Slow Learner"

Although there is currently renewed and justified interest in the gifted student—in meeting his educational needs—the boys and girls with limited learning abilities are still with us. Their educational needs, in terms of minimum citizenship development goals, have been and continue to be a major social and educational problem. As stated often in these pages, our schools must concern themselves not only with developing capable leaders (emphasis on the gifted), but also with developing intelligent followers. Even boys and girls with I.Q.'s of 90 and below will grow up into men and women with parental, social, and civic responsibilities. How they will fulfill their responsibilities may have a great deal to do with the total well being of our society.

One of the major problems in the field of "slow learner" education is the lack of adequate reading materials on a level that is comprehensible to him in terms of his reading ability but not below him in terms of his social maturity. By way of experimentation,

we are devoting the next two issues of "The Teachers' Page" to a unit entitled "Being a Wise Consumer." Teachers who wish to try this unit with some of their "slow learner" students might want to react to it by writing to us.

BEING A WISE CONSUMER

What is a Consumer

A consumer is a person who uses or buys all kinds of goods, such as food, clothing and furniture. A consumer also uses or buys services, such as having his hair cut, getting his car fixed, or going to a doctor. Every person is a consumer because everyone eats food, wears clothes, lives in a house, and uses many other things which cost money.

Why People Buy Goods and Services

Every person has certain needs or wants. A need or a want is something a person must have or desires very much. Some of these needs are required by the body for its existence. For example: everyone has a need for food. The body makes known this demand for food by a feeling of hunger. Everyone has a need for water. The body makes known this

*7 copies
sent pamphlets
enclosed*

need by a feeling of thirst. In winter people have a need for warm clothing. The body makes known this need by feeling cold. Persons are not comfortable when they are hungry, thirsty, or cold. When they have these feelings, they *want* food, water, and warm clothing.

Years ago, when man lived in caves, he had to spend most of his time in satisfying these basic needs. He fished and hunted for food. He went to the river for water. He used animal skins for clothes. In time man became more civilized. He became more skillful in getting food. He did not have to spend nearly all of his time hunting and fishing. By developing skill as a farmer and having domestic animals, man had more time for other things. Not only that, he began to want other things, such as a house to live in, instead of a cave, and nicer clothes than skins of animals. Other wants that man developed had to do with his desire for pleasure and the need to satisfy his religious feelings.

Unlike animals, people want many things. One person may like playing baseball. He may want a ball, a bat, and a baseball glove. Another person may like music. He may wish to have a piano, a guitar, or some other musical instrument. Still another man may enjoy reading. He will want a book or a magazine. A person may like all these things and want them all. Today there are many wants and needs that people have. Some of these are for goods, such as toothpaste, soap, a beautiful dress, a musical instrument, a car, or a house. Some of the wants are for services, such as a permanent wave, music lessons, a car wash, advice from a lawyer, or help from a doctor.

1. Make a list of many goods and services a person may desire.
2. Place the number 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 beside each service or good, in the order of its importance to you.

Necessities and Luxuries

One of the big problems faced by every person is how to obtain all the things he may need and want. When a man works for a living he earns only a certain amount of

money. If he spends more than he makes, he goes into debt. If he does not pay what he owes, people will not trust him. If he buys on the installment plan and does not make his payments, the finance company will take away what he bought. Sooner or later nearly everyone must make up his mind that he *cannot* buy all he needs or wants. This means that every person must decide between what to buy and what not to buy. One way to do this is to decide what one *must have* in order to live and to fulfill his daily obligations. These are called necessities. They include such things as food, a minimum amount of clothing, shoes, rent, and carfare. Other goods and services one may want but which are not absolutely necessary are called *luxuries*. These include such things as fancy clothes, jewelry, fur coats, going on vacation, or going to the movies. A wise consumer spends his money first on necessities. If he has money left over, he buys some luxuries.

Make two lists of goods and services; label one *necessities* and the other *luxuries*.

How People are Influenced in What They Buy

As we already learned, everyone has certain specific needs and wants. We also have learned that the average person today has many more needs and wants than did early man. This tells us a very important fact about human nature. Man is so made up that by seeing and learning of new things he begins to want them. This means that a person's wants increase constantly. For example, years ago people did not want television sets, automobiles, electric washers, refrigerators, permanent waves and tickets to football games. People had no desire for these things because they did not exist. Now people want to have all these goods and more. It is very natural for people to want them because of the pleasure and satisfaction they give. Unfortunately, as we know, people do not always have the money to buy these goods and services. What they *do* buy depends on a number of things which influence their decision. These are:

1. *Habits people have built up*
2. *Fashion and style*
3. *Occupation and Social position*
4. *Advertising*

How Habits Influence Buying

When we think of habits we usually have in mind doing something which requires no *conscious thinking*. Examples of everyday habits are tying one's shoelaces, brushing one's teeth, walking up stairs, eating soup, and riding a bicycle. Most of our daily actions are done through habit. We know that we are not born with these habits. We acquire or *learn* them. A child has to *learn* to walk. He has to *learn* to eat with a spoon. He has to *learn* to tie his shoelaces. Later in life, boys and girls have to *learn* to ride bicycles, to skate, or to swim. Habits are *learned* ways of doing things. They result from doing the same thing over and over again until one does not have to *think* how to do them.

Not having to think about some of our everyday activities is often an advantage. Imagine what a waste of time it would be for a person to have to stop and think how to walk, tie his shoe lace, or button his shirt. Imagine a person having to say to himself:

"Do I use the right or left hand to button my shirt?" or,

"Which fingers do I use to tie my shoelaces?"

In other words, most habits are time saving, and therefore are good.

Not all habits have to do with doing things with one's hands or feet. Some of our habits have to do with the way people act toward each other. Some habits have to do with one's work. Some have to do with the way people spend their money on goods and services. Over a period of time persons become used to eating certain foods, washing with certain soaps, and cleaning their teeth with a given brand of toothpaste. Some people never change their habits.

In some ways habits of *consumption* (using goods and services) are good. Like the other habits discussed before, certain buying habits also can be time savers. In

other ways, certain buying habits can be bad; as when a person gets used to buying a poor quality soap, toothpaste, or patent medicine. An intelligent person examines his buying habits from time to time to see if they are worth continuing or changing.

1. Make a list of the good and bad habits you have.
2. Have a class discussion on what buying habits the class members have.

How Fashion and Style Influence Buying

When a girl goes to a dance or a party she wants to wear a dress that is in fashion or in style. A boy, also, when he goes out on a date wants to wear a suit that is in style. A young woman today would not relish wearing a dress that was stylish in her grandmother's day and out of date now. A young man would look and feel silly if he dressed in tight fitting knee pants and a shirt with ruffles. People by nature *want* to be in fashion or in style.

Fashion and style are to be found not only in clothes. There are fashions and styles in furniture, rugs, refrigerators, television sets, and automobiles. There are changes in the style of hair-do, eyeglass frames, costume jewelry, and even in children's toys. Some people feel that there are too many new models or styles every year. Some people also feel that too much emphasis is placed today on fashion and style.

Fashions and styles often vary from country to country. Sometimes they differ from city to city or even from one section of a city to another.

Style and fashion influence people in what they buy. In some ways this is good. It helps persons in making decisions about what to buy. It gives them pleasure and satisfaction. In other ways, an *over-emphasis* on style and fashion is bad. It is bad when people deny themselves certain necessities in order to buy things just to be in style. It is bad when it makes people go into debt to buy things they don't really need. It is bad when persons overlook quality in goods in their desire to be stylish. It is bad when it causes people to *want to keep up* with their neighbors, just

to be in style. Of late, some manufacturers purposely change the style or model of what they make in order to make people dissatisfied with what they have. A wise consumer is on guard against the danger of giving in to the temptation of new styles.

Years ago, people were not as style conscious as they are today. A person would wear the same clothing until it wore out. Families lived in the same house generation after generation. Furniture was used until it was no longer usable. People may not have to do all these things today because we are a richer country now. At the same time, for the reasons already given, it is not wise for a person to be a slave to fashion and style.

Make drawings of different styles of such articles as clothes, shoes, furniture, and automobiles.

The second part of this unit will appear in the next issue of "The Teachers' Page."

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College Diplomas too Cheap

U.S. higher education is an enormous charity and the people who chiefly finance it are the teachers, reports *Fortune* magazine in its August, 1957 issue.

Though board and lodging are usually charged for at cost, an insignificant number of the three million current college students, even at the most expensive institutions, pay the full cost of their instruction.

While fees in fiscal '57 were on the average at least double what they were in 1940, the \$1 billion total still covered only one-third of the costs of instruction.

At private institutions (42.9 per cent of enrollment in 1956) standard discounts from costs average about \$500 a year per student, while those at state institutions average about \$800.

Half Of All Teachers Earn Less Than \$5,600

It is United States college teachers who

make this contribution "by an amount more than double the grand total of alumni gifts, corporate gifts and endowment income" by working for shamefully low pay.

Half of all faculty ranks, says *Fortune*, earn below \$5,600. Although state institutions offer better salary levels than private ones, a full professor's salary at the average large state university in 1954 was only \$7,000, less than that of a locomotive engineer.

Moreover, while college teachers' purchasing power rose 12 per cent between 1940 and 1956, that of industrial labor rose 64 per cent, that of doctors 96 per cent.

Since 1970's instruction budget alone is expected to rise to somewhere around \$6 billion—twice the present figure—as enrollment totals double, how to pay for it is Higher Education's major problem.

Study Now—Pay Later

One promising solution, says *Fortune*, is receiving more and more attention. It is to introduce installment paying and credit into higher education on an order of magnitude never tried before.

Although students now raise only 1.5 per cent of their funds through borrowing, it has been demonstrated that when colleges have substantial loan funds, make them broadly available at low interest and for long terms, and promote their use, borrowing becomes more popular.

Today a college education is an investment that adds an average of \$100,000 to graduates' lifetime earnings. There is no good reason why United States colleges—and teachers—should provide this benefit at a loss. "A loan system that would make higher tuition fees possible would cause a substantial change for the better in the economics of higher education."

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

NEW MATERIALS

Visual Instruction Bureau, Univ. of Texas, Austin, Tex., has available for sale a series of booklets that are most superior in quality and kind. Every classroom teacher, not just social studies teachers, should have them. Under the title, *Bridges For Ideas*, you will find the following:

Number One: Tear Sheets for Teaching

Number Two: Bulletin Boards for Teaching

Number Three: Felt Boards for Teaching

Number Four: Lettering Techniques

Number Five: Using the Consultant

Number Six: Models for Teaching

Educational Aids for Schools and Colleges.

A guide to free loan-materials available from the Education Dept., Natl Assoc. of Manufacturers, 2 E. 48 St., New York 17, N. Y.

U. S. Govt. Films for Public Educational Use (Supplement No. 1). A 92 page catalog, containing descriptions of new films released since 1955. For sale, 35 cents, Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Educators Guide to Free Films (Educators Progress Service, Randolph, Wisconsin, \$7.00). 17th Annual edition of an extremely useful guide for users of free motion pictures. Indexes 3800 films, of which 842 are new titles this year. All entries are indexed by title and cross-indexed by subject.

Educators Guide to Free Slidefilms. Educators Progress Service, Randolph, Wisc. \$5.00. 9th annual edition, similar to above entry except that it lists filmstrips.

Elementary Teachers Guide to Free Curriculum Materials. Educators Progress Service,

Randolph, Wisc., \$5.50. 14th annual edition. Similar to above entries except that it lists booklets, pamphlets, study kits, pictures, etc., for elementary grades and junior high.

Social Studies for the Junior High School — Programs for Grades Seven, Eight, and Nine. Natl. Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C., \$2.00. Section 1 is devoted mainly to orientation; section two describes the social studies program in five selected school systems; section three deals with the improvement of social studies instruction in the junior high school grades.

FILMS

Lifeline U.S.A. 26 min. Color. Free-loan. Association Films, Ridgefield, N. J.

Shows how our shipping helps maintain and expand our own and other national economies. Film moves from port to port, explaining the roles of seamen, farmers, factory workers, ship owners, and businessmen at their jobs to help maintain the "lifelines" of commerce.

A Nation in Torment. 11 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., N.Y.C.

Reviews briefly the history of Hungary with particular reference to the decade of 1946-56. It deals with the Oct. 1956 revolt, its suppression by Soviet troops, and the exodus of Hungarian refugees.

Now We Are Free. 26 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Follows the fortunes of one Hungarian family, first to Austria, then to Camp Kilmer, and finally to resettlement in the middle west.

Out of Hungary to Freedom. 19 min. Sale. United World Films Inc.

Tells the story of the many Hungarian

refugees during the winter of 1956. Shows scenes of Vice-Pres. Nixon visiting the refugee camps in Austria, and pictures Hungarians adjusting to their new lives in the U.S. *Working for the U.S.A.* 14 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Explains the nature and significance of Federal Civil Service employment, how positions are obtained, wage scales, opportunities for advancement, and fringe benefits.

Memorial Day. 21 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Dramatizes the impact and meaning of the flag at half-mast for the Nation's dead of the armed forces.

Open Window. 18 min. Color. Sale/rental. International Film Bureau, Inc., 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

Presents a history of landscape painting from the 15th through the 19th centuries. Shows how western civilization has grown and by the interchange of ideas, methods and styles in many fields, paved the way for the still closer cooperation among peoples and nations.

A Day with The FBI. 18 min. Sale. International Film Bureau, Inc.

Shows a realistic picture of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, its crime laboratory, filing systems, and the training of a G-man.

FILMSTRIPS

Turbulence. 51 fr. Sale. B&W. United World Films, Inc.

Describes the three types of turbulence, their causes and associated hazards and flight procedures in regions of turbulence.

Thunderstorms. 63 fr. B&W. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Describes the hazards, types, and recognition of thunderstorms and explains pre-flight planning and flight procedure recommended in regions of thunderstorm activity.

Condensation Trails. 48 fr. Sale. B&W. United World Films, Inc.

Explains the three types of contrails, their nature and causes, how to anticipate and avoid them, and their tactical uses in warfare.

Weather: Fog. 46 fr. B&W. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Describes the nature, types and causes of fog.

Low Ceilings and Low Visibilities. 40 fr. Sale. B&W. United World Films, Inc.

Describes the hazards to aerial flight of low visibility and low ceilings, and explains the necessity for preflight planning and precautions for flight over regions of low visibility and low ceilings.

Defense and Disarmament. 59 fr. B&W. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, The N. Y. Times, 229 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.

Takes up the quest for the reduction of armaments that has been intensified as a result of the dread weapons of the Atomic Age and the ever-increasing burdens of national security. Consists of graphic current and historical pictures, cartoons, and charts. A manual is available with the filmstrip. Ranging over the recent past and the critical moves that will shape the future, the filmstrip covers all aspects of one of the most vital issues of our time — peace or destruction.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mid-East: World-Center. Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. New York: Harper & Brothers,

1956. Pp. xiii, 386. \$6.50.

This volume, the seventh in the Science of Culture Series, is a symposium of twenty

essays written by eighteen eminent authorities on the life, culture, and history of the Middle Eastern World. The authors look far back into the past, examine and appraise the present, and contemplate the future, which they feel will see a spiritual rebirth and re-dedication in the Middle East within the broad framework of the brotherhood and unity of all mankind.

After an introductory chapter on the philosophical and spiritual contributions of the area to Western culture, four essays are devoted to the unifying forces in the Middle East — historical, religious, and geographic. Following chapters deal with a great variety of specific factors — geopolitics, oil, general economic and social conditions, political institutions, the Muslim legal system, language, art, science, education, and the status of women. The essay on nationalism and imperialism is illuminating in view of the potentialities of the area in contemporary international politics. One chapter discusses Communism as an ideological force in an Islamic environment, emphasizing conditions which favor the success of Communism in the Middle East but concluding that in the long run the Muslim world will reject this atheistic philosophy. Turkey and Israel are given special treatment in separate chapters.

Evident throughout the book is the impact of the West on the Middle East, with the consequent loosening of the old ties and the undermining of the foundations on which Middle Eastern society has traditionally stood. Each author in his own discipline endeavors to show how the Muslim leaders are attempting "to integrate Muslim doctrine with Western philosophy." The consensus is that a new moral consciousness has been awakened, that a new life is emerging in the Middle East, and that the Muslim world will recapture its pristine vigor. While the West can and should lend encouragement toward this end, the problem is essentially one for the Muslim peoples themselves to solve.

HORACE V. HARRISON

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

The Negro in the United States. By E. Franklin Frazier. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. Pp. 769. \$8.50. 1009

This revised edition is a satisfyingly complete, scholarly, thoroughly documented study of American Negro life. Yet it is not dull as such studies often tend to be. For Dr. Frazier has a thesis which weaves throughout his chapters and gives the book unity and impact: that the integration of the Negro into American life is following the historical pattern of the integration of other immigrant minorities. It is true that this integration into the melting pot has been complicated and hindered by slavery and the easily identifiable racial characteristic of skin color. But from the freed slaves of the eighteenth century who bought land and lived as their white neighbors lived, to the Negro novelists and executives of today, the trend has been, Frazier demonstrates, for the Negro to become an integral part of American life.

For unlike the Negro slaves of Haiti and Brazil who were able to maintain African cultural traditions on huge plantations with hundreds of slaves, the slaves in the United States lost their African heritage through effective division on smaller plantations. They had, therefore, no other history and tradition to embrace except the American tradition, and no other mode of culture and life to emulate except American culture. This lack of an ancient culture which might be a source of pride, solace, or pattern of behavior thus made the effect of segregation more demoralizing to the Negro than to the Jew, Japanese, or Greek who did possess such ancient cultures. The Negro in America could have no other goals except wealth, success, achievement — the goals accepted by Americans in general — yet those goals were often denied him by the machinery of segregation and racial prejudice. The acceptance of the culture of his environment by the Negro was so complete as to include even the desirability of lighter skins.

Yet as Frazier traces American Negro life through the church, the school, the arts,

in industry, etc., we see everywhere the old prejudices breaking down under the combined onslaught of the Negro's drive for equality, the rejection of prejudice by a growing body of white Americans, and the world-wide emergence of colored peoples of colonial nations to independence and dignity.

Sociological studies of this nature often give us sharp cross sections of the present, but lack the perspective given by a historical study of the past. A great advantage of this book is the inclusion of history, perspective, and the author's ability to see *trends* — thus having some insight into the future. Yet the detailed sociological cross section is there: present class attitudes among the Negro bourgeoisie, the Negro intelligentsia, figures on Negro health, employment, family disorganization, etc.

One shortcoming is the neglect of the economic stake some employers have in racial prejudice. Prejudice is more than a psychological antipathy for someone who is "different" and even more than competition for jobs among white and black laborers. Prejudice could probably not last long if Negro heroes were integrated into our comic strips, movies, and television programs. It is the "South" that protests against such trends, especially employers of the South who would stand to lose billions of dollars in increased wages to Negro laborers (and to white laborers also, consequently) if the myth of Negro inferiority were thoroughly exploded.

SYDNEY B. SPIEGEL

Senior High School
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Education and Human Motivation. By H. Harry Giles. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. 108. \$3.00.

The aim of the book is to "present a central thesis and to indicate aspects of it which students and practitioners in the human relations field may develop . . . it is hoped that a certain conceptual structure for taking hold of human problems is established . . . to stimulate further undertakings of scholarship and practical application."

The central thesis, as understood by the reviewer, is that growth is the important concept that encompasses the broad field of human development and human relations. Growth is defined by the author in several ways: "increasing adequacy of structure and function for (a) survival (b) fulfillment of purpose," "term to include an infinity of forms of behavior . . . involves changes and increasing adequacy of structure . . . involves changes and increasing adequacy of function . . . applies to the development of bones and muscles . . . applies to development of ideas and emotions . . . applies to the organism — all that is within one skin . . . applies to relations between organism and environment, man-made or natural."

The author discusses the individual's limitations and potentialities for growth. Also presented is the application of the concept of growth to democracy and education. In the last chapter the author proposes that students of human relations utilize and test the theory both in their practice and research. Some of the hypotheses that the author states which are derived from the theory are "there is no magic formula for solving human problems" and "teaching is a reflexive verb only."

This book leaves the reader with many questions. The definition of growth, for example, is so vague and broad that it seems to take in everything that is related to man. The hypotheses that are to be tested would appear to be deduced from the theory but the author does not tell how this was done. Unless the terms used in the hypotheses are more precisely defined it is difficult to see how they can be tested and unless they can be tested the theory can not be validated. It should be pointed out that while the author cites material from many and varied sources, 72 out of the 136 selected references were published in the thirties or earlier. This fact may lead one to feel the book is somewhat out of date.

DONALD K. PUMROY

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Here is Haiti. By Ruth Wilson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. 204. \$3.50.

Americans should try to understand Haiti. We are a nation ostensibly believing in freedom and Haiti is a country constantly ridden by army dictatorships. We are a people ostensibly believing in economic well-being and Haiti is one of the worst pest-holes of poverty on the face of the earth. We are a people who believe that we should have a sense of responsibility for affairs in this hemisphere, and, acting on that belief, our Marines occupied Haiti for twenty years; the day the Marines left is still celebrated in Haiti today as a national holiday.

Yet it is not easy to discover the truth about a country—and it is not even easy for us Americans to understand our own country. What books would you advise a foreigner to read in order to understand America? Perhaps some of our important novels; perhaps some sociological studies like the Lynds' study of Middletown; perhaps some journalistic accounts of personal experience and personal impressions such as Carl T. Rowan's books about the South. Similarly, a good way to begin a study of Haiti might be to read a scholarly study with some formal history such as James G. Leyburn's *The Haitian People*; Jacques Romain's *Masters of the Dew*, a short, powerful novel by a Haitian; and Ruth Wilson's *Here is Haiti* for a journalistic account of personal impressions by a sympathetic American with a thorough knowledge of Haitian history and culture.

The advantage of a book of personal impressions is that the impressions we receive of a country are extremely vivid. The disadvantage is that it often deals with appearances, and appearances can deceive.

Ruth Wilson has written a book consisting largely of her personal impressions of Haiti, many of which become so vivid to the reader as to be unforgettable. We learn to know and admire, for example, the cultural trait of courtesy and good manners which she found among all classes of the population. But on the other hand, she was impressed with the

patriotism of Magloire, and the general strike against him in 1956 comes as a puzzling anti-climax to the story she tells us of his dynamic leadership. Magloire appeared to be unselfishly devoted to raising the standards of his country, but the reality was that Magloire was selfishly profiteering even if his greed ruined the country. Her thoughts about Haiti are invaluable but they should be balanced against a book of more rigorous, scholarly investigation.

There is an important review in this book of a UNESCO project and an American Point IV project. It is significant that the UNESCO project failed and the Point IV project had a record of solid achievement.

The most important bit of history is in the nature of a historical flashback in connection with the author's visit to the Citadel. More emphasis perhaps should have been given to Petion's policy of dividing the land, and the long tradition of militarism. The historical conflict between the ruling mulatto caste and the peasant blacks is well developed. Today, however, when black army officers are members of military juntas formed to rule the country, some of the traditional modes of analysis of Haitian class structure are becoming dated.

SYDNEY B. SPIEGEL

Senior High School
Cheyenne, Wyoming

An Outline of Social Psychology. By Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956 (rev. ed.) Pp. xix, 792. \$6.00.

In a rapidly changing world that demands many new social skills and understandings, the social studies are being called upon for continually expanded learnings. Yet the social studies curriculum is altered slowly and grudgingly. This is understandable for rigidity is characteristic of social institutions. Also, most social studies teachers are essentially unprepared to adventure with their pupils into a number of the new areas of emphasis. Largely overlooked in the daily operations of the typical high school social

studies teacher are vital topics which stem from: the implications of recent findings of the cultural anthropologists, the impact of technology and science upon society, trends in the behavioral sciences reflecting the results of inter-disciplinary team research, discoveries in semantics and communications, and particularly developments in the rich field of social psychology, which has also explored some of the above areas.

Little content concerning the above mentioned factors has usually been found in traditional programs of social studies teacher preparation. Even in a modern five-year teacher training program the neophyte instructor is frequently unprepared to effectively handle broadfield social studies courses because there just is not time in many programs as they are now constituted to give him a thorough basic foundation in all of the social sciences. Therefore, as a part of his personal, in-service, professional growth, the social studies teacher should be encouraged to read, study, and discuss in those areas of concern for which he has a growing responsibility.

In a world of mass media, of centralized control of communication, of growing secondary group influence, of ever greater population growth and intermingling, where peoples are brought into ever closer relationships with one another—social psychology holds important learnings for the social studies instructor. What do the following terms, now so commonly found in our literature, really mean for the social studies teacher? Organization man, bureaucratic man, group think, the mass mind, status group influence, prejudice as a group attitude, collective behavior, social norms, cultural diffusion, taste-maker, and depth or motivation research are just a few random samples of emerging terminology. Should our pupils be exposed to facts and concepts related to these terms? In the area of social psychology what essential learnings exist for young democratic citizens? What can they learn about themselves and their fellows from this discipline that will help all to func-

tion more satisfactorily as individuals and as group members?

What do you know about the topics listed above? How conversant are you with the psychology of man's relation to man? Do you really understand the complex, personal and group relationships of the boys and girls in your classes? Do you understand the principles of leadership and involvement that you can apply in improving learning situations? Are you concerned about the under-the-surface attitudes and beliefs held by your students of different racial, national, or religious backgrounds? If you recognize gaps and needs of your own in this area, the reviewer suggests a self-study course built about this excellent and fully revised college text or some other similar, up-to-date volume with the same broad, clear coverage of recent findings. As Gardner Murphy explains in his introduction, this book is especially helpful in that it cites and is based upon so many non-laboratory studies—research carried on in the natural market place. Persons searching this text will find the time spent well worth while for they will emerge another step out of the morass of social ignorance from which educated man has strived so long to free himself and his fellows.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University
Stanford, California

The American Story. By Gavian, Ruth Wood and William A. Hamm. Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1957. Pp. 736. Price \$3.42.

American history has often been described as a revolt within a British Colonial possession with the subsequent development of the rebellious colonies into a united nation. In time the small but united nation developed into a position of leadership and influence not less glorious than the other prominent nations of the western world. This was only the beginning of an era of greatness, for the same nation in the past thirty years of its history, forged ahead to the coveted place of first among the nations of the free world.

This is a distinction, for despite the fact that the United States is the youngest of nations, it has the reputation of being the oldest democracy under the oldest written Constitution. The success of the United States is a marked triumph for a freedom loving people. The development of this triumph is the theme of *The American Story*.

Such a story cannot be presented well unless the style lends itself to colorful and dramatic incidents. The authors have provided a narrative that is filled with catchy quotations and informative phrases. By making use of short, direct and pithy quotations they have wrought a three dimensional effect which makes the reader feel as if he has actually suffered with Washington during the dark days of the Revolutionary War; campaigned with Grant; experienced the warmth of Lincoln's personality or shared the shattered spirits of Wilson after the Senate dealt the death blow to the active participation of the United States in the League of Nations. The life-like and human qualities of the narrative are strengthened by the use of appropriate reproductions of paintings and photographs.

Helpful study aids as well as maps and charts are also used to explain and clarify the origin, growth and the resultant interaction of economic, social and governmental institutions. The social aspects of American life are at all times closely related to the simultaneous development of spiritual, political, and economic forces. The authors do not attempt to divorce them and treat each of them separately. To them, America represents an ambitious experiment in the intermingling of peoples, in religious toleration, social equality, economic opportunity and representative government. It is the story of the making of a strong unified society.

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